1: Jochelson RY4 Koryak RY4

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(For history of contacts with Russian administrative and military agencies, see category 116, pp. 783-807.)

114 from Steller's book some pictures of Japanese gods, which Steller[1] represents as the Kamchatka good and evil deities, and of whom no mention at all is made in the text of Steller's book. Slunin's personal observations do not add much new material to the ethnographical information which he obtained at second-hand.

Mr. Bogoras has had the kindness to place at my disposal the Koryak myths from Kamchatka and from the Pacific coast recorded by him.[2] These have been embodied in the present work on the Koryak. Besides this, he has revised and corrected the transcriptions of all Koryak names, words, incantations, and other Koryak phrases, contained in this book. Mr. Bogoras made a special study of both the Chukchee and the Koryak languages, which are closely related to each other.

124 Nicholas Vilkhin, a Russianized Koryak of the settlement of Gishiginsk, assisted me on the spot in recording and translating the myths. For scientific purposes he is the only tolerably good interpreter in the Gishiga district. He has equal command of the local Russian dialect and the Koryak language, and is more intelligent than two or three other Russianized Koryak who also live there, and who are at the same time familiar with both languages. Still I had to labor hard before I had him trained for the work. The cossacks' and other Russian settlers' knowledge of the Koryak language scarcely goes further than simple phrases used in trade, and their language frequently represents a peculiar Koryak-Russian jargon. It goes without saying that the Russian interpreters proved unfit for my purposes. Vilkhin was in the employ of the expedition throughout my entire stay in the Gishiga district.

171 The Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka, although still preserving their language, have long since embraced Christianity, and, setting aside a
177 number of superstitions, have forgotten their former religion. The same may
● be said, to a great extent, of the Alutora Maritime Koryak, who also have been converted to Christianity; but, according to Mr. Bogoras, the latter have preserved a great number of myths. The Reindeer Koryak, however, as well as the Maritime Koryak north of Alutorsky Cape, along the shore of the Pacific Ocean, and the Maritime Koryak inhabiting the shores of Penshina Bay, have to a considerable extent preserved their primitive religion. The efforts of the Russians to convert them to the Orthodox faith have so far proved futile. Especially the Maritime Koryak who live nearest to the settlement of Gishiginsk, the Russian centre of the Gishiga district, prove to be more conservative in matters pertaining to religion than those who come in contact with the Koryak of Kamchatka, like the inhabitants of the villages of Kamenskoye (Va′ikenan), Talovka (Xe′s·xen), Ma′meč, and Reki′nnok.[3] But,

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[1] Steller, 3 plates opp. p. 252.

[2] The following tales were recorded by Mr. Bogoras: Nos. 97-109 and 115-139.

[3] See map. In the text Russian names of villages, rivers, etc., have been used. If there are Koryak names, these have been added in parentheses. Koryak names only are used when there are no Russian names.

771 in spite of the fact that Christianity has been adopted only to a limited extent among the Koryak, their own religion is at present in a state of decay, which is
177 caused by their coming in frequent contact with Russian traders and Cossacks, who, especially the latter, ridicule the idols, sacrifices, and ceremonies of the Koryak. Many of the ceremonies and myths are mere survivals of the past, and their meaning has been lost. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century, the religion of Kamchadal, according to Krasheninnikoff and Steller, was influenced by the Russians in the same manner.

776 his world-creating activity, except that he sent Big-Raven down to our earth
773 to establish order; but he is the personification of the vital principle in nature taken in its entirety. On the other hand, he is an anthropomorphic being, — an old man living in a settlement in heaven, and having a wife and children. He is a benevolent being, well disposed toward men, but displaying little activity. The course of events takes place under his supervision. If he wills, he can give abundance and plenty, or put an end to prosperity, and send a visitation of famine and other calamities upon mankind; but he seldom makes use of his power to do evil to men.

The Supreme Being is known under the following names: Ña'ñıŋen (Universe, World, Outer-One); Ina'hıtelaᵋn or Ġına'gıtelaᵋn (Supervisor); Yaqhı'čñın or Caqhı'čñın (Something-Existing), called by the Paren people Vahı'čñın by those of Kamenskoye Vahı'tñın, or by the Reindeer Koryak Vahı'yñın (Existence, also Strength); Ġı'čholaᵋn (The-One-on-High); Ġıčho'l-etı'nvilaᵋn (The-Master-on-High) or simply E'tın (Master); Tña'ırgın (Dawn). Some identify the sun with him. In Tale 113 we meet with the name Kihi'gilaᵋn (Thunder-Man) for the Supreme Being.

The Chukchee call Existence Va'ırgin (from the verb tıtva'rkin, "I exist," "I am"). It should be noted here that Mr. Bogoras[1] considers this word, not as the name of an individual deity, but as that applied to the entire class of benevolent spirits. In the same manner the Asiatic Eskimo use the word Kıya'ŗnaŗak (from kıyaŗnakuña, "I exist," "I am"). Mr. Bogoras states that the name Va'ırgin is used in some cases even with reference to evil spirits; but the Koryak among whom I collected information identified this name with the other names of the Supreme Being. It is probable that previously the
● [177] Koryak may also have applied this name to a class of beings. It is also possible that all names now applied by them to one deity may have formerly been applied to various beings or phenomena of nature, and that, owing to their intercourse with the Russians, a monotheistic tendency of uniting all names of the various deities into one may have developed; and, indeed, I used to notice such a tendency, and wondered at it. Once a Cossack was trying to persuade a Maritime Koryak to embrace the Orthodox faith. "Why should I be baptized?" the latter replied evasively, pointing upward with his hand. "We all have one God, anyway." On the other hand, Cloud-Man (Ya'hal or Ya'halaᵋn) figures as the son of the Supreme Being under his various names. This idea appears equally clear in the tales and in my notes. It does not seem likely that this identification of the father of Cloud-Man with one single supreme being, known under many different names, should be due to Russian monotheistic influence. I recollect one case in which a Koryak identified the dawn with the Supreme Being. It was in spring, in the camp

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[1] Bogoras, Anthropologist, p. 587.

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There is no doubt that the custom of attaching such rattles to the drum has been borrowed from the Tungus. Not all of the Koryak drums that I saw had iron rattles. The drum, before being used, is heated by the fire. Thus the hide is made taut, and the sounds become clearer and more sonorous.

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It is very interesting to compare the Koryak drum with other Asiatic drums which I collected. Fig. 20 represents a Yukaghir drum.[1] Its longitudinal diameter is 88 cm., the width of the rim is 6.2 cm., and the length of the stick is 42 cm. The Yukaghir drum is asymmetrical — somewhat egg-shaped — in form. It is also covered with hide on one side only. Inside of the drum there is an iron cross near the centre, which serves as a handle. The ends of the cross are tied to the rim by means of straps. Iron rattles are attached at four places on the inner side of the rim. This kind of drum is similar to that of the Yakut. This similarity may be observed not only in its shape, the cross, and the iron rattles, but also in the small protuberances on the outer surface of the rim, which are especially characteristic of the Yakut drum. They represent the horns of the shaman's spirits. Judging from what the old people among the Yukaghir relate, in olden times their drums had no metallic parts, and were apparently like those of the Koryak. The metallic parts were borrowed from the Yakut. The Yukaghir drum is, however, larger in size than that of the Yakut, and its rim is not so wide. The stick is covered with skin of reindeer-legs. The drum-head is made of reindeer-hide.

The Yakut drum (Fig. 21) is

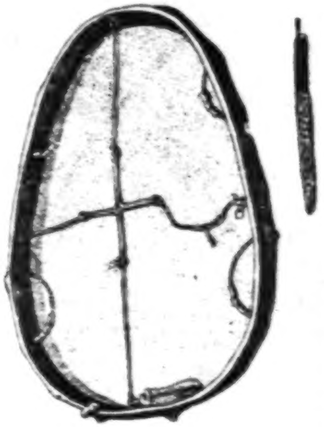

Fig. 20 ([illegible]). Yukaghir Drum and Drum-Stick.

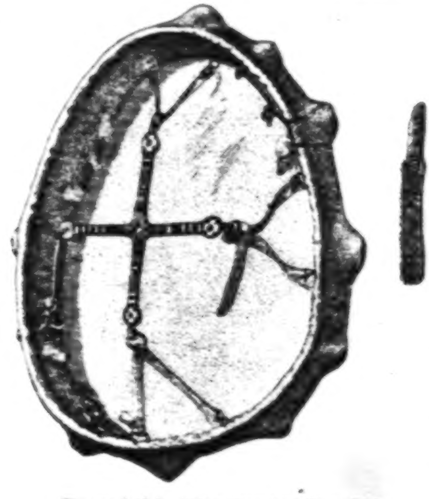

Fig. 21 ([illegible]). Yakut Drum and Drum-Stick.

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[1] When in use, the drum is held with the broad end up, which is also the case with the Yakut drum shown in the next figure.

764 and fuel provided quick enough, the body is burned on the same day that the person died; otherwise the burning takes place on the second or third day.

While the deceased remains in the house, the people keep awake. The women work on the funeral garments; and the men, in order to keep awake, [177] play cards. At the present time, card-playing, which was, of course, borrowed from the Russians, seems to be considered a necessary part of the formalities to be gone through with in the house of the deceased. The Reindeer Koryak play on the body of the deceased, entertaining him in this manner. While the dead person is in the house, he is considered as a member of the family, and the people try to make it appear as though nothing had happened. It is supposed that he is participating in the meals of the family and in card-playing. It is therefore forbidden to wail for the deceased before he has been taken out. The women weep softly, quietly wiping away their tears.

The deceased is dressed in the funeral garments just before he is taken out. The people put on the clothes in a peculiar manner, to indicate that the dressing of the dead is different from the dressing of living people. For instance, the left-hand mitten is put on the right hand, and *vice versa*. The cap is put on with its front backward. When hitching up the reindeer which carry the body to the pyre, the Reindeer Koryak put the collar over the right shoulder of the animal, while in ordinary driving it is put over the left shoulder. Before dressing the deceased, one of his nearest relatives — mother, husband, or wife — wipes his face with wet moss, without, however, looking at his face. I had a chance to witness personally the burning of a baby girl who had died soon after birth. After she was dressed, her grandmother took her in her arms and rocked her as though she were alive. Another woman, versed in incantations, waved over the child a little stick to which wool of young seals was tied. In this manner she was driving away the dogs that are believed to guard the entrance into the country of the shades. Then she put a fin of a dried fish into the tiny mitten to give to the guardian dogs. Thereupon she took a little forked alder-branch, charmed it, and gave it to the dead [775] child as a protector (ine'nJulaᵋn) and guide on her way. A child may easily lose its way to the other world, and the guardian dogs of the other world are more dangerous to it than to a grown-up person.

The grandmother took the child out, carrying it in her arms; but while she was ascending the ladder, a pole was put down from above through the entrance, and placed alongside of the ladder. It is assumed to be the ladder which the dead child uses. This pole was drawn up while the grandmother was ascending the ladder, and thus they pretended to pull out the little girl.

If a grown person dies, a strap is tied under the arms of the body, which, supported by a relative who ascends the ladder, is drawn out together with the pole, which is supposed to serve the deceased as his ladder. The Reindeer Koryak do not carry out their dead through the usual door, but under the

3. Capella in the constellation of Auriga, Yeke′ñelaqlın ("driving with reindeer"). 773
4. The belt of Orion, Ena′nvenanāña ("the handle of a scraper") or Ulveiyinitila⁽n ("he who carries the bow across"). 821
5. The Polar Star, Ačka′p-aña′ĭ ("nail-star").
6. The Morning Star, Pe′geten ("suspended breath").
7. The Milky Way, Yaᵘ′veyem ("clay river").

Fig. 58 represents a map of the starry sky drawn by the KoryakAče′pin of Kamenskoye. In addition to the Milky Way, he seemed to know the following constellations and stars only: (1) Ursa Major, (2) the Polar Star, (3) the Pleiades, and (4) Orion. Besides, the last two constellations are placed on the left side of his map, instead of on the right. Apparently Ače′pin, who drew that map, made a mistake when transferring the stars from the vaulted sky to the map.

The wind and the fog are also regarded as men living in settlements. Thus Wind-Man is called Kıtı′hımtıla⁽n or Kıtıy-nı′myisa⁽n ("inhabitant of the village of the winds"); while Fog-Man is called Yıña′mtıla⁽n, and Fog-Woman, Yıña′m-ña′ut.

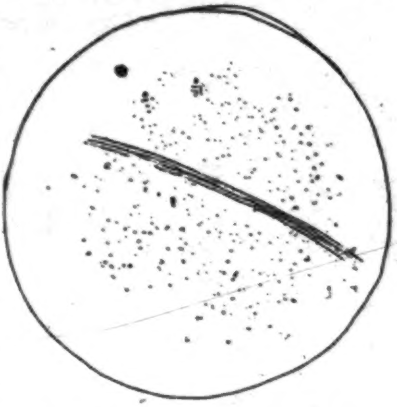

Fig. 58. Koryak Sketch representing Star Map.

773 177 There is no doubt that the primitive views of nature held by the Koryak are gradually breaking down. In spite of the fact that the Koryak come in contact only with the lowest representatives of Russian civilization, and that even the formal side of Christianity is being adopted by them very slowly, the new ideas presented in the mode of life of the Russians are destroying the Koryak beliefs at an ever-accelerating rate. Their religion is dwindling down to the mere observation of rites and of taboos the meaning of which is gradually being lost; and their religious myths are changing into meaningless tales and fables, or are being forgotten entirely.

778 177 It is very interesting to note that a critical attitude toward the ancient customs does not find equal expression in all places. For instance, the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula have assumed a critical attitude toward the sacred fire-board. Their official chief told me that he has no longer a sacred fire-board, that he prefers to have real shepherds for his herd. He considers the drum, however, not only a family guardian, but also the guardian of the herd. I was unable to acquire for the collection an old drum from the Taigonos

778 Koryak. In Kamenskoye the sacred fire-board is still treated with respect;
177 but the significance of the drum as a sacred heirloom of the family has declined,
and I was able to acquire drums for the collection, all of which are ancient family drums. I have said before that indifference toward old customs may be observed more clearly in places nearer Kamchatka than in those near the Russian settlement on the Gishiga River. Near Kamchatka, for instance, in Kamenskoye, families may be found, which, though not baptized, show an inclination to acquire Russian customs. There are a few such families in Kamenskoye. They try to establish friendship with the Russians, and criticise
771 their own customs without constraint. Thus the old man Yulta told me, as a proof that dog-sacrifices do not serve any useful purpose, how his people were
177 once chasing in a skin boat after a whale, and could not come near enough to throw the harpoon. Then they killed a dog as a sacrifice; but the whale got still farther away from them. His scepticism, however, did not prevent him from killing a dog the next day, on the occasion of his son's departure. In the entire settlement, which consisted of thirty families, there is only one Koryak, Qači'lqut, who has adopted Christianity. To welcome a Russian he puts on a fur jacket made after Russian fashion; and when he comes to a Russian house, he makes the sign of the cross with an air of great importance before the images of the saints of the Greek Catholic Church without knowing, however, how to fold his fingers properly. Nevertheless he has two wives, and kills dogs as sacrifices to The-Master-on-High. When I asked him once how it was that he, a Christian, made dog-offerings, he replied, that since he became converted, he killed only puppies, but not large dogs. This was a half-serious reply; it would seem that he thus thought to reconcile the two religions. All this, however, tends to the destruction of the former religion; and were it not for the low level of culture among the Russian settlers themselves, and the ignorance of the local orthodox clergy, the Russianization of the Koryak would proceed at a much more rapid rate than it does at present.

16: According to the census of 1897,[1] out of a total of 7530 Koryak, 3387 were baptized; i. e., 45 per cent. They were distributed among the districts
77' as follows: —

	Christians.	*Pagans.*
Gishiga	1416	3018
Petropavlovsk	1727	948
Okhotsk	244	0
Anadyr	0	177

Of course a great many of the baptized are Christians only in name.

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[1] See Patkanov, p. 21.

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It is important to point out here some peculiarities of the present Kamchadal myths as compared with those related by Steller, and with the Koryak myths. In the myths collected by Mr. Bogoras, adventures are ascribed to Kutq and to members of his family, which, among the Koryak, are told about kalau.[1] For instance, in one tale[2] Miti' cuts off her nose and lips, and catches the mice which are in her light; but the Fox sets the mice free, and finally kills Miti' by throwing her down a rock. In Koryak tales[3] all this is told with reference to a kala-woman. I am inclined to attribute this divergence to the effect of Russian influence. The Kamchadal adopted Christianity long ago, and in a certain sense they are devout Christians, while the Russian priests constantly try to persuade the natives of Siberia who have been converted to Christianity that their former gods are devils and evil spirits. Thus, the Yukaghir of the upper Kolyma, in my presence, called their ancient guardian-idol, which was hanging in the woods, "Satan;" and the scaffold graves of their ancestors, and those above ground, which they used to worship, the Russianized Yukaghir of the Lower Kolyma now call "the graves of the perished (могилы пропащихъ)," an expression which is otherwise applied to animals only; and they remained quite indifferent when I proceeded to open those graves.[4]

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COMPARISON WITH CHUKCHEE MYTHOLOGY. — The relation of the Koryak folk-lore to that of the Chukchee is somewhat different from its relation to the Kamchadal folk-lore. As may be seen from the publications of Mr. Bogoras,[5] the influence of the Eskimo myths upon Chukchee folk-lore was greater than that upon Koryak folk-lore; and the cycle of raven myths is therefore less preponderant than that of the Koryak. Big-Raven and Raven-Man of the Koryak are merged into one person named Ku'rkɪl (Raven); and the Creator of the Koryak myths, identified among the Koryak with Big-Raven, appears among the Chukchee (with the exception of the passages enumerated before)[6] as a being independent of Ku'rkɪl, but the same as the Supreme Being. From this we may draw the conclusion that the raven of the Chukchee, owing, perhaps, to the effect of their contact with the Eskimo, has lost its place as the ancestor of the tribe, and remains merely a hero of the animal epos. On the other hand, the Chukchee have retained more cosmogonic tales about the raven than the Koryak, which, however, might be explained by the fact that Koryak folk-lore is on the decline. Incidents of maritime life, which are very prominent in the Koryak myths, are even more prevalent in those of the Chukchee, where they assume a coloring of Eskimo life.

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[1] Tales 32, 56, 79, 112 (pp. 181, 212, 246, 402).

[2] Tale 131 (p. 331).

[3] Tales 32, 56 (pp. 181, 212).

[4] It must be noted here that in one Koryak tale of Kamenskoye (Tale 108, p. 295), Big-Raven's son, Eme'mqut, appears as a cannibal in the same manner as the monster gormandizer of Tale 112, p. 302. This may also be ascribed to Russian influence.

[5] Chukchee Materials, Introductory; Anthropologist, pp. 682, 683.

[6] See p. 17.

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773 rapid the decline of Koryak folk-lore has been.[1] When among the Rein-
deer Koryak on the Palpal, I once urged an old man, who generally was
538 very communicative and answered all my questions, to tell me some tales;
462 but he replied that he did not know any. "Is it possible that you have not
heard any tales?" I asked him. "Yes, I have heard them," he replied. "The
women will tell them; but I forget them at once. We have no time to fool
with stories. We are in the cold all the time, taking care of the herd. We
suffer much, and come home tired, just to sleep. The Maritime people don't
work in the winter. They have plenty of time. They live in warm houses.
They know many tales." However, even the men of the Maritime people
K did not tell me many tales, either. The few tales that men from the Maritime
● 177 villages told me are the least interesting ones. It may be said that the primitive
773 form of the folk-lore, in which all forms of tales relate to deities and spirits,
is disappearing as a consequence of contact with a higher civilization. It dis-
appears without being transformed into folk-lore pure and simple, independent
of religion, such as epic hero-tales, interesting fables, and allegories. Such
transition seems to occur among the Chukchee. Koryak folk-lore is passing
away, just as it has done among a part of the Koryak inhabiting northern
Y Kamchatka, who have entirely forgotten their ancient myths, and have not
K created any new ones.

Comparison with Yukaghir Mythology. — If we compare the Koryak
773 myths with those of the Yukaghir,[2] we recognize that the latter are in a still
177 worse state of decline, especially with reference to the original topics; but the
Yukaghir have borrowed some topics of their tales from the Mongol-Turks.
Generally speaking, the Yukaghir myths proper represent at present fragments
of the Chukchee and Koryak cycles of traditions; but we find among these
fragments elements of myths about the Chukchee kelet or the Koryak kalau,
and with episodes of the raven cycle. The new material on the Yukaghir
collected by me for the Jesup Expedition, as well as the myths collected by
Mr. Bogoras among the Russianized Yukaghir along the lower part of the
Kolyma, point still more to a close connection between the Yukaghir traditions
and the cycle of myths current on the northern coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

Judging from the material published, and from information gathered from that not yet published, the difference between the Koryak myths and those of the Aino-Gilyak consists primarily in the fact that the Aino-Gilyak myths, owing, perhaps, to Japanese influence, treat mainly of animals, but they include a great many North Pacific elements.

000 Comparison with Mongol-Turk Mythology. — Before proceeding to

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[1] I will mention here that I met one male story-teller among the Yakut who was able to relate tales, with some interruptions, for entire days, combining and welding together various episodes and stories. I heard that there are quite a number of such narrators among the Yakut.

[2] See Jochelson, Yukaghir Materials.

171 bloody sweat, it breaks the iron walls of enchanted castles. The horse figures 773 as the assistant and counsellor of the hero, — it warns him of impending danger, shows the way, and participates in his battles. The reindeer of the Koryak myths does not play such a part, being regarded mainly as an indication of wealth.[1]

Though the heroes of this legendary epos are frequently transformed into animals, or have the shape of animals, the underlying idea is not that of the identity of the hero and of the animal, but rather that of a supernatural and exceptional transformation for special purposes.

The Mongol-Turk tales of animals, in general, constitute a separate class of folk-lore, and in most cases have the form of comical fantastic tales told for pastime, or they are fables. Only a few of them reflect the view of nature held by the tribe at a remote period, and are connected with cosmogonic and mythological tales.

773 Although the Koryak folk-lore, as will be shown further on, is closely connected with American mythology, it contains, nevertheless, a certain number 177 of Asiatic or Mongol-Turk elements. Since the majority of episodes of the Koryak myths are found also in the tales of American tribes, we are justified in ascribing the presence of Mongol-Turk elements in the Koryak mythology, not to the common origin of the latter with the Mongol-Turk, but simply to the fact that the Koryak must have borrowed these elements. It would be interesting to find out how these elements have been introduced. As far as we are familiar with the history of these peoples, neither the Buryat nor the Yakut ever had any direct intercourse with the Koryak or Chukchee. The Buryat live too far southwest, while the Yakut are comparatively recent arrivals in the far north. Even at present the Koryak do not come in contact with the Yakut as a tribe. Only on rare occasions do a few Yakut from the Kolyma cross the Stanovoi Mountains to visit Gishiga for trading-purposes. At the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Russian Government sent Yakut criminals into exile from Yakutsk to the Okhotsk Sea, near the southern border of the Koryak territory; but these isolated meetings cannot have had any influence upon Koryak mythology.

If the assumption that the Mongol-Turk elements in the Koryak myths 773 were borrowed, is at all correct, then the tribes by which these elements were 174 introduced must have been the Yukaghir in the west, and the Tungus in the south. I shall discuss at length the influence of the Yukaghir in my description of the Yukaghir, which will be published later on. At present I shall confine myself to a few remarks on the influence of the Tungus.

The Tungus are related to the Manchus. They are supposed to have

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[1] It is interesting to note, that, in a Gilyak tale recorded on Saghalin Island by Sternberg (Gilyak Materials, p. 407), the hero has a winged iron reindeer, which speaks, gives advice, and carries him to heaven. It seems to me that this is borrowed from the Tungus tribes.

132 shores. Owing to the constant cold fogs in the beginning of summer and the heat-energy expended in melting the snow, the earth gets but little heated. More or less clear and comparatively warm days come not earlier than at the end of July and beginning of August. The soil, however, thaws out only to an inconsiderable depth.

[251] Regular observations with reference to this matter have hardly been carried on as yet, but all over that region the natives utilize a hole in the ever-frozen soil as a cellar in which to preserve their provisions. Slunin found a frozen layer of soil in the Gishiga tundra at a depth of 0.9 metres, and on the Stolbovoi tundra at a depth of from 0.36 to 0.54 metres.[1] Dittmar found in summer, near Gishiginsk, a thick layer of fossil ice at a depth of from 45 cm. to 60 cm.[2] On the Sedanke River he found the frozen soil at a depth of from 60 cm. to 90 cm.[3]

On the northern slopes of even very small heights, in gorges, or in rocky bays, the ice-glazed snow, hardened by the winds, melts only toward the end of August. The moist, moss-covered turf-layer of the tundra is another means by which the heat is prevented from penetrating deep into the soil. The rain-water and the water from the melting snow, which evaporates but very slightly, unable to penetrate the frozen soil, stagnate on the surface of the plain, forming extensive swamps, and rendering all communi-
[177] cation difficult or impossible during summer. Thus, from the beginning of May until the middle or end of October, the Russian settlement of Gishiginsk, as well as other settlements, is completely cut off from the Koryak villages and camps.

492 Communication between points situated at a short distance from one
484 another is carried on by the Koryak on foot, and by the Tungus by riding
177 their reindeer. The animals best adapted for use in moving from place to place in that swampy region would be pack-horses; but there are very few horses available, particularly in the Gishiga district. The Russian inhabitants of Gishiginsk owned in 1901 only about sixty-five horses, brought thither at different times from the Yakutsk Province. Though these horses are very hardy, they cannot long endure the journeying through the swamps, but wear out quickly, since they have only the scant green fodder upon which to depend. The Russians use them only for short-distance riding between their own settlements along the Gishiga River, or from the settlement Gishiginsk to the Tungus fairs on the Varkhalan and Nayakhan Rivers; and seldom during summer does a Russian merchant venture even to the nearest Koryak villages.

For getting over from Gishiga to Paren (Poitın) in the fall of 1900, I

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[1] See Slunin, I, p. 250.
[2] See Dittmar, Reisen in Kamtschatka, pp. 427, 431.
[3] Ibid., p. 483.

succeeded in hiring twenty saddle and pack horses.[1] The distance from 492
Gishiginsk to the Koryak village of Paren (about a hundred miles), which 484
in winter is covered in two days when driving with dogs, occupied us eighteen
days. It must be added, however, that the conditions were particularly 177
unfavorable. After a very rainy summer the swamps were unusually deep, and, just before crossing the northern part of the Taigonos Ridge, we were suddenly overtaken by a violent snow-storm, which forced us to stop for three days. It so happened that the place where we stopped afforded only very poor pasture; and our horses, tired out by the journey of the preceding days, were completely exhausted.

Good fodder-grass is, as a rule, very rare in that region. The swamps 824
are covered mainly with varieties of reed-grass (*Cyperaceæ*), horse-tails (*Equisetaceæ*),
and ferns, which are not very nourishing. In civilized countries 492
many of these grasses, which serve here as fodder for horses, are regarded as harmful for cattle. Thus the horses hardly managed to drag us up to the Koryak village. Of the horses which I sent back to Gishiga with a driver, six died on the way from the effects of a snow-storm, and six in Gishiginsk soon after their arrival in that place.[2]

It may be remarked in this connection that among the horse-tails, the preponderance of which among the pasture-grass frequently produces epizoöty even among the by no means fastidious cattle of northern Siberia, there are found some useful varieties. One species, *Equisetum scirpoides* Mich., is particularly liked by the Yakut horses. The horses of the arctic region fatten in two or three weeks on pastures covered with this variety of horse-tail. On our way from the Gishiga territory toward the Kolyma, in the fall of 1901, we came across an enormous pasture-ground covered with *E. scirpoides* at the source of the Gishiga River, and the Yakut asked me to stop there for a day in order to give the horses a chance to recuperate on that pasture.

VEGETATION. — Very few varieties of trees are represented in the Koryak 137
territory. Of the coniferous trees there are two species, — the East Siberian larch-tree (*Larix Dahurica* Turcz)[3] and the shrub of dwarf cedar or stone-pine (*Pinus pumila* Pall.), which represents a certain variety of the Siberian cedar (*Pinus cembra* L.). Its seeds, small edible nuts, and cones, are the same as those of the Siberian cedar, from which they differ only in size. Dr. Slunin thinks[4] that the Siberian fir (*Picea obovata* Ledb.) is also to be

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[1] This trip proved very advantageous. Had I waited in Gishiga for the winter roads to become passable, I should not only have lost two months, but I should also have missed the opportunity of seeing the autumnal religious festivals described in Part I, Chapter V, and which heretofore were unknown.

[2] See the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, popular account (The American Museum Journal, 1903, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 102).

[3] While the Siberian larch-tree (*Larix Siberica* Ledb.) occurs west of the Yenisei River, the Dahurian larch-tree (*Larix Dahurica* Turcz) grows east of it (see Professor S. Korshinsky, The Vegetation of Russia, in The Russian Encyclopædia of Brockhaus and Efron, Vol. XXVII, p. 45).

[4] See Slunin, I, p. 306.

It is hardly necessary to say that the species of fish caught by the Koryak are the same as those on the American side of Bering Sea, but they differ from those of the arctic rivers west of the Stanovoi Ridge. There we find mainly the *Coregonidæ*, which ascend the rivers from the polar sea, while in the Koryak waters the *Salmonidæ* (especially of the genus *Oncorhynchus*) are of greatest importance. 825

Influence of Climatic Conditions upon Progress. — From this brief description of the nature of the region, it may be seen to what extent its form of culture depends upon surrounding conditions. It can hardly be expected that under such a climate the manner of existence can be materially changed. In the far north, material culture depends more upon the degree of latitude than upon human efforts. Agriculture is impossible, because the earth does not thaw out to a sufficient depth; the soil is mostly marshy; and the temperature is too low for the growth of cereals. 241

In 1901 there were in Gishiginsk only seventy-eight days without frosts, which is not a sufficiently long period for the growth of cereals. This time is in reality still more curtailed, since the growth of cereals does not begin, or stops if already begun, till the temperature is somewhat above the freezing-point. Botanists regard the temperature above 6° C. as a necessary one for the growth of cereals.

Taking into consideration the poor quality of the grasses, and the enormous expanses covered with moss, lichen, and marshes, cattle-breeding as an industry is also impossible. As we shall see below, the efforts of the Russian Administration to develop cattle-breeding among the Russianized Maritime Koryak of Kamchatka and the Okhotsk district — that is, in the more southern parts of the territory — has met with very little success. 233 177 ●

The fur-trade cannot be regarded as a means of improving the general welfare of the natives, since, aside from the fact that the profits derived from it remain in the hands of unscrupulous traders, the number of fur-bearing animals is rapidly decreasing, owing to their ruthless destruction. 224

Fishing and the hunting of sea-mammals, as indicated above, can be carried on in the summer only; so that during the long winter the Maritime population have to depend exclusively upon their summer supplies. 225

Reindeer-breeding, though affording a more reliable source of sustenance to the wandering Reindeer people than that offered by hunting and fishing to the Maritime people, is still in a most primitive state. The type of a Reindeer household has so far remained unchanged, contact with Russian civilization for a century and a half not having exercised any influence upon it. This primitive state of the material life of the Koryak, left almost intact by outside influence, determines the primitive state of their mental culture. 233 178

158 ance. Even when they are in a normal condition, a twitching of the face is observable, and they have a haggard look and an uneven gait.

164 Contagious and epidemic diseases find fertile ground among the Koryak as among other Siberian tribes. Even measles, which in civilized countries is generally confined to children, and is comparatively harmless, carries off large numbers of grown people among the Koryak.

Small-pox and measles appeared among the Koryak after they came in contact with the Russians. Small-pox is said to have appeared for the first time in the Okhotsk-Kamchatka territory about 1767. Since then it has been epidemic in that region several times. The contagion spread from Yakutsk or the Kolyma River; but, since intercourse between the bulk of the Koryak tribe and the Russians was not frequent until recently, small-pox did not rage in the interior of the Koryak territory to the extent that it did among other tribes. The last epidemic of small-pox occurred in 1895. It came from the Kolyma side, and claimed numerous victims among the Chukchee of the northern tundra; but the Koryak were affected very little by it.

Epidemics of measles are hardly less fatal. The last one was brought to the Koryak from Kamchatka in 1899. In some cases the havoc wrought by it was so great as to carry off a third of the population. Among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula, for instance, 97 persons, according to my record of families, died of it.[1] While the census figures of 1897 show that there were in all only 297 persons on the Taigonos Peninsula before the epidemic, the enumeration made by me after the epidemic gives 318 persons there.[2]

164 177 Like the Chukchee, the Koryak call syphilis the Chuvantzy or Yukaghir disease (atal or etel va′ɪrgin[3]), evidently because it was through these tribes that the infection was brought from the Russians. The Paren people call it also tagɪ′ta. In our travels among the Reindeer Koryak, as well as through

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[1] To give an idea of the ravages of measles among the Koryak in 1900, I will cite here what I heard from a young Koryak employed as a herdsman by a wealthy widow, the sister of the Taigonos elder.

"Our tent stood alone on the shore of the Avekova River. There were ten of us. We all took sick, and could hardly drag ourselves about. Soon one after another died. Another herdsman and myself, both ill, drove the dead to be burned. Finally this herdsman, too, died. There were now three of us, — our mistress, another woman, and myself. Soon the other woman died. Alone I drove her a little way from our tent; but I had no strength to burn her, for I could not pick up the wood. I put the dead woman on the snow, killed the reindeer on which I had brought her, and placed him alongside of her. Then I plucked some alder-tree branches, covered the dead woman and the reindeer with them, and pressed them down from the top with the sledge.

"An awful storm was raging at the time. When I returned home, I found the tent had fallen down, and that my mistress was lying under the uprooted stakes of the framework. All alone, she had been unable to withstand the strong wind, and fasten down the falling tent. I drew her from under the tent, and with difficulty we pitched it again the best we could. Thus only two of us recovered. After that, I wandered about for several days to collect the herd, which had scattered in all directions."

In the summer of 1901 I sent this herdsman with my cossack to find the skull of the woman that had not been burned, but they could not discover it. Very likely the bears had carried off the corpse.

[2] For the difference between the figures 297 and 318 see Chapter III.

[3] By the name atal, or etel, as the Paren people pronounce it, the Koryak call the Chuvantzy as well as the Yukaghir.

the settlements of the Maritime Koryak, we often came across syphilitic 164
patients; but all the cases were either in the tertiary stage or were instances
of hereditary syphilis. From the Report of 1884, by the district physician 177
Uspenski, I have taken the following interesting data: —

Syphilis developed, particularly during the seventies of the last century, in the Gishiga district. The Government then established a special hospital for syphilitics in Gishiginsk, where the Koryak went readily to be treated. In 1880 this hospital was closed, and syphilis spread more virulently.

Dr. Uspenski, on his inspection tour of 1884 over the Koryak settlements of the western shores of Penshina Bay, found in 91 houses 42 persons suffering from syphilis; among the Taigonos Koryak, 19 infected in 9 camps; and among the Reindeer Koryak of Opuka on the Palpal, 16 in 10 camps. Among the Alutor Koryak he did not find a single case: so that little nook on the Pacific had not been touched by the disease.

The idea is prevalent among the Russians, for some reason or other, that the presence of syphilis among the Koryak is due to the sailors of American whaling-vessels. This was the opinion of the chief of the Gishiga district[1] and of Dr. Uspenski in the above-mentioned report. In support of this opinion, Dr. Uspenski pointed out that, while he found among the Koryak near Gishiga numerous cases of syphilis in its contagious stage, on a wholesale examination of the cossacks and their families of Gishiga he discovered that five persons out of a hundred showed traces of former venereal disease, but not one of its contagious form.

Dr. Slunin also says that some settlements along the Okhotsk Sea, as Yamsk (Russianized Koryak) and Arman (Tungus), which were often visited by American whalers, have a bad reputation.[2] George Kennan also is of the opinion that the American whalers have imported syphilis to the Koryak of Penshina Bay.[3] However, I do not believe that the Koryak are exceptional among the Siberian tribes. All the tribes of northeastern Siberia, the Chukchee and Kamchadal among them, contracted syphilis from the Russians long before the appearance of American whalers in Bering and Okhotsk Seas. It is known, for instance, that among the Kamchadal syphilis was particularly widespread after the arrival (in 1799) of an infantry regiment under the command of Major-General Somoff at Petropavlovsk.[4]

There is another interesting feature in connection with the appearance of syphilis among the Koryak. As we shall see later, in the chapter treating

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[1] See Government Archives of the Gishiga District, 1884, Case 1094.

[2] Slunin, I, p. 522.

[3] Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia (London, 1870), p. 233.

[4] After the first visits to Petropavlovsk by foreign vessels, — namely, by the English expedition under Captain Cook, who had been killed not long before the visit, and by the expedition of the French navigator La Pérouse, — the Russian Government thought it necessary to put the port of Petropavlovsk under military administration.

164 of family relations, the sexual relations of the Koryak, compared with those of their neighbors, are remarkably pure for a primitive tribe. This should 177 make the possibility of infection through sexual intercourse rare. It is likely that the contagion spread simply through contact, in consequence of their lack of aversion to things eaten by others and of the excessive filth obtaining among them.

Leprosy, so widely spread among the Yakut, is not found at all among the Koryak. Slunin says that the Kamchadal also are exempt from it.[1] The Yakut, also Russian immigrants, half-blood descendants of Kamchadal and Russians or Yakut, and to some extent the Tungus, are subject to this disease. Personally I did not meet with a single instance of a Tungus affected by leprosy.

From time to time a contagious disease similar to grippe in its prolonged and severe form, accompanied with many complications, spreads among the Koryak, and each time it claims a few score victims. This disease was introduced by the Russians. At the time of my arrival at the Russian town of Gishiginsk (August, 1900), almost its entire Russian population, the cossacks included, were down with the grippe.

757 The remedies used by the Kamchadal are not used by the Koryak. In case of sickness they have recourse to shamanism, family charms, and incantations. They readily apply for help to a Russian physician or to travellers, whom they regard as shamans, and take their medicine gladly. Wounds heal with remarkable rapidity after they have been dressed, and antiseptics have been applied to them. The Koryak usually leave their wounds open, for they have not the necessary material with which to dress them. Hare's hair is frequently applied by them to a wound; but the hairs stick to it, and dirt accumulates, and it is surprising how the wounds heal at all under such conditions. By applying the proper dressing, we often succeeded in healing in a few days ulcers, cuts, and wounds from which they had been suffering for months.

181 MENTAL TRAITS. — There is quite a disparity of opinion among travellers in reference to the psychological and moral traits of the Koryak.

114 Krasheninnikoff says, "They are all exceedingly rude, irascible, ill-disposed, spiteful, and unmerciful;"[2] but in another place he says, "The Koryak are truthful, diligent, and endowed with a sense of shame."[3] On the same page he says that the Maritime Koryak are more courageous than their Reindeer brothers.

Dittmar says that the Koryak are "good-natured, honest, strictly truthful, and do not know deceit. But should any one offend their sense of honor, or insult them, their anger is lasting, and they seek to avenge themselves."[4]

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[1] Slunin, I, p. 529.
[2] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202.
[3] Ibid., II, p. 203.
[4] Dittmar, Die Koräken, pp. 26, 27.

With reference to the Paren and Kamenskoye people, Dittmar says in another place that they are "of a restless, warlike nature, or, rather, they have the nature of robbers, which has made for them a number of enemies,"[1] and that the wandering Koryak visit them only in case of dire necessity. The Reindeer Koryak, on the other hand, are, according to Dittmar,[2] such an honest, straight-forward people, that he expresses a wish that the demoralizing influence of civilization should not touch their pure patriarchal life. 181 114

Maydell, on the contrary, considers the Koryak a wily people, who have caused a good deal of harm to the Russians by their pretended submission and treacherous revolts.[3]

Slunin says of the Maritime Koryak, that they are "more advanced, more receptive, have better morals (?), and are more sociable in their manners,"[4] than the Reindeer Koryak, but are not very hospitable; while hospitality, and readiness to come to the assistance of the needy, constitute, on the contrary, a distinctive trait of the nomadic Koryak.

Kennan[5] also praises the Reindeer Koryak for their honesty and hospitality, while the picture he draws of the Maritime Koryak is anything but attractive. "They are," says Kennan, "cruel and brutal in disposition, insolent to everybody, revengeful, dishonest, and untruthful. The settled Koraks of Penzhinsk Gulf are unquestionably the worst, ugliest, most brutal and degraded natives in all northeastern Siberia; more trouble than all the other inhabitants of Siberia and Kamchatka together."

Personally I believe that the principal traits of character of the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak are much alike. They are proud, independent, inclined to brag; their passions are easily aroused; they take offence readily, and try to avenge themselves by any possible means. They are hospitable and sociable with people in whom they have confidence, but do not conceal their dislike for those who are unfriendly to them, or who, for some reason or another, did not gain their favor. They do not fear death, and they cannot be frightened by anything. For reasons such as the death of a relative, quarrels, or wrath, suicide has frequently been committed among them, as well as among the Chukchee, even recently. 181 152 [761] [762]

In former times, owing to these traits of character, feuds, or misunderstandings among the Koryak, or between them and other tribes, ended in mutual slaughter. At present, their manners are somewhat gentler, but in dealing with them one must always take into consideration their obstinacy, austerity, and dauntlessness. [721]

Together with the Chukchee, the Koryak are the only Siberian tribe whose attitude toward the Russian authorities is that of almost perfect independence. However, the Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district, and 177

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[1] Dittmar, Die Koriäken, p. 11.
[2] Ibid., p. 34.
[3] Maydell, I, pp. 567–573.
[4] Slunin, I, p. 392.
[5] Kennan, pp. 197, 203, 209.

177 particularly the Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka who have embraced Christianity, are exceptions to this rule. They have the same pitiful and humble appearance as the Kamchadal, Yukaghir, and Tungus, and carry out submissively each and every order of the cossacks and the Russians in general. Evidently the process of Russianization, combined with two centuries of oppression by the Russian authorities, has brought about this change in the primitive character of this branch of the Koryak.

727 During the time of the subjection of the Koryak, full-grown men in the
villages or camps, unable to withstand longer the besieging Russians, often
killed their dogs or reindeer, their women and children, and finally themselves,
if they could not escape by flight. Such a state of things discouraged even
the conquerors. Similar instances of wild self-destruction while battling for
their freedom occurred later on as well, when the Russians were suppressing
669 the Koryak rebellions. These rebellions were caused by the levying of the
fur-tribute (yassak), or by the demand of the Russians for hostages. These
demands the Koryak refused to grant, though other Siberian tribes, with the
exception of the Chukchee, complied with them.

(181) Strictly speaking, the Koryak were not on the whole opposed to the fur-tribute, which they considered an offering to the Czar; but the extortionate demands made by the cossacks and officials for furs and services for themselves were contrary to the Koryak sense of justice and his love of freedom. The rebellious spirit of the Koryak was not crushed with the suppression of the revolts.[1]

609 An old man from the Kamenskoye village told me that he could remember seeing, when he was a child, Russian merchants accompanied by cossacks come to trade, and that, fearing an attack, they stopped outside the village. It was only when the Koryak came out to them unarmed that trade began. Even very recently the chief of the Gishiga district travelled through the Koryak villages and camps under the protection of an armed body-guard.

651 In the sixties of the last century the chief of the Gishiga district, Volkov, ordered a drunken Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye to be beaten with rods when he came to Gishiginsk. The relatives of the man determined to flog the Russian chief in Kamenskoye, where he was expected to arrive as usual for collecting tribute of furs. When Volkov heard of this, he sent two cossacks for the tribute, instead of going himself. As soon as they arrived in the settlement, they were stretched out and flogged, and then sent back to Volkov to tell him that now he might come, since the indignity to their relative was avenged.[2]

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[1] For a more detailed account of the relations between the Russians and the Koryak, see the historical sketch in Chapter XIV.

[2] From the Report of Ratkevich, the successor of Volkov, chief of the Gishiga district, to the Governor of the Maritime Province, Dec. 31, 1886, No. 404 (Government Archives of Gishiga).

The same official, Volkov, was for a long time unable to collect the fur-tribute from the Koryak of Shestakovo village. When some of these Koryak came to Gishiginsk with furs to sell to the merchants, Volkov ordered the furs to be confiscated. The Koryak went away empty-handed. When, after that, Volkov passed the village of Shestakovo, the Koryak surrounded the underground house where he stopped and tried to beat him. The chief drew his sabre, and with its flat side struck over the back a Koryak who was trying to get at him. Then all the Koryak fell upon the chief, but they were held back by his body-guard of five cossacks. The cossacks, in the Koryak language (which the chief did not understand), begged the Koryak not to ruin them by acts of violence on the chief. The Koryak yielded to the entreaties of the cossacks on the promise of a present of powder, and after the Koryak who had been struck by the chief had been allowed to pass his hand over the back of the chief's coat (without his knowledge of it), thus simulating a return stroke.[1] 579 651

In the Report cited above there are other facts of a similar nature. For instance, District Chief Mazurkevich, when visiting the village of Kamenskoye in 1872, provoked by the insolence of the Koryak I'velqut, struck him in the chest to drive him away. I'velqut attacked the chief, but was caught by the latter's body-guard, and driven out of the underground house. In a few minutes the house was surrounded; and the cossacks of the guard, seeing that they were unable to shield Mazurkevich from harm, offered themselves as a propitiation for the insult. The Koryak were satisfied with this substitution, and gave the cossacks a thrashing.

To give an idea of the Koryak customs and manners, I will cite here some incidents of my personal intercourse with them. In the fall of 1900 some Koryak from Kuel took my companions, myself, and my luggage, in two skin boats, from the mouth of the Paren River to their settlement. I asked them what they wanted in payment for their trouble. They held a consultation among themselves, and asked for twenty bricks of tea. It must be borne in mind that they were then out of tea. In summer they do not come in contact with the Russian merchants, and their supply laid in during spring is quickly consumed. If by chance a Russian merchant were to come among them in the fall, he would charge from two to three rubles for a brick of tea. 437 177

Now, the distance by sea from the mouth of the Paren River to Kuel is about twelve miles. According to local conditions, the price set by the Koryak was too high, and I asked them if they did not think it was too much. The elder of the Kuel settlement, old Euvi'npet, replied angrily and impatiently, "If thou findest that it is too much, then we do not want any

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[1] Told by a cossack who participated in the quarrel.

437 177 pay I had not expected that my question would offend them. In my intercourse for a number of years with other Siberian tribes, I had not only always come to an understanding with them about the pay for their services, but in most cases had set it myself. In cases where I offered less than was asked for, they never took offence.

Among those tribes there is no definite scale of prices for services in general, and obviously not for those for which I was the first to apply to them. Sometimes a native would ask of me at random the first thing that he saw in my tent, or in the house where I stopped, without taking its value into consideration. For instance, a girl from the Itkana settlement asked me, by the advice of her uncle, in return for permission to make a cast of her face, for a copper pot which I subsequently exchanged for a small skin boat.

After my experience with Euvr'npet, I did not haggle with the Koryak again when I had not come to a previous understanding with them. I often gave them more than they asked for, since they would ask for a trifle, when it happened to strike their fancy, in payment for quite laborious work. In the end, the Koryak left the settlement of the reward to me.

123 609 I had another unpleasant experience among the Reindeer Koryak during the fair on the Palpal Mountains in March, 1901. Owing to the epidemic of measles that had been raging a short time before my arrival, I was not welcomed very cordially. By order of the old men, no one wished to be measured. A few men only, who acted independently and did not care for public opinion, consented to be measured two or three days after my arrival.

The women were angry when I applied to them for anything. They wished to get our presents, but they were afraid to disobey the old men. One young woman, tempted by the presents, began to dictate a tale to me. With her and my interpreter, I sat on a sledge outside. While she was dictating, an old woman came up to her and said something. Thereupon the young woman showed signs of impatience, and talked reluctantly. When I asked her to explain one place which I did not understand, she suddenly flung the presents at the interpreter and ran away into the common tent.[1]

Another woman, whom I asked to sell me the embroidered trousers for men which she was drying, replied angrily and with irony, "Go, go farther! Look for cutting-boards!" She was hinting at the fact that I had previously made an unsuccessful attempt to buy, from some women, cutting-boards with figures engraved upon them. However, the husband of the woman brought to me on the following day those very trousers.

It should be kept in mind, in connection with these remarks, that the Koryak look upon every traveller as an official of high rank. If I could have remained longer with the Palpal people, I have no doubt that our

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[1] See Part I, p. 77.

relations would have undergone a complete change. Unfortunately the fair 609
lasted but a few days, and my plans were such that after the fair I had to 123
go to the Taigonos Peninsula.

The discrepancy in the accounts given by various travellers of the char- 177
acteristics of the Reindeer and Maritime Koryak can, it seems to me, be
explained by the fact that the Reindeer people, being nomadic, could always 648
get away from unwelcome visitors, and the Russians did not know where to find the camps which they desired to visit; while the Maritime Koryak, being established in certain places, could not escape undesirable visits, and were compelled to offer resistance when they did not wish to yield to the demands of the Russians.

One demand of the cossacks always irritates the Koryak, and that is the exaction of conveyance without charge. The Koryak, as a rule, have few driving-dogs, and, moreover, food must be taken along for the dogs, even if there is not enough left for the people. In this respect the Reindeer Koryak are more favorably situated. It is a trifle for a wealthy reindeer-owner to give a few reindeer for driving. He does not suffer any privation by rendering such service, and therefore is not irritated by demands of this sort.

The same is true regarding their hospitality. The Maritime Koryak are 609
as hospitable as those of the Reindeer branch, but they have nothing accept- 177
able to offer to a white person. He will not eat seal-meat with blubber.
Not even all cossacks can eat the food of the Koryak, who feel insulted if any one shows aversion to it. Besides, the Maritime Koryak themselves often suffer from a scarcity of food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the other hand, are in a position to offer reindeer-meat to the white man.

The Maritime Koryak, for instance, never offered me food, unless I myself asked them for dried fish, while they always treated my people with food. The Reindeer Koryak, on the contrary, always treated us to boiled reindeer-tongues, a delicacy kept for guests of honor.

On the whole, I retain a good impression of the Koryak. They are 181
hard to get along with if one does not know their ways. They are churlish, rude, and quarrelsome, if displeased; but they do not flatter, are truthful, straightforward, and, when in good-humor, good-natured and jocose.

Mr. Kennan's remarks about the Kamentsi may be explained by the fact 177
that the agents of the Russian-American Company, in whose employ he was,
either paid the Koryak, under the patronage of the Russian authorities, very 114
poorly or not at all for their services, or treated them arrogantly, as they did the meek and humble Kamchadal. This is the only way in which I can reconcile the relations between the Maritime Koryak and the employees of the Telegraph Company as described by Mr. Kennan. Some old Russians in Gishiginsk told me that the agents of the company paid by slips or receipts, the money for which has not yet been collected.

184 162 361 *Anadyr and Okhotsk Districts.* — According to the last census, there were found in the Anadyr district five tents of Reindeer Koryak, or 75 persons (33 men, 42 women), wandering, together with the Chukchee, in the southern part of the Anadyr district, on the northern slope of the Palpal Ridge. In the Okhotsk district 13 persons were found, apparently a camp of Koryak wandering together with the Tungus.

162 ● 177 191 SETTLEMENTS OF THE MARITIME KORYAK. *Okhotsk District.* — In the Okhotsk district, Maritime Koryak are found in two settlements only, — in the villages of Yamsk and Tumansk. They are Christians, and have become Russianized. They have forgotten the Koryak language, and speak Russian as well as Tungus. Physically they represent a blood mixture of Russians, Tungus, and Yakut. According to official data there are 205 Koryak in the village of Yamsk, and 26 Koryak in the village of Tumansk, or 66 per cent of the total number of inhabitants of those two villages. All together, there are 231 Maritime Koryak in the Okhotsk district.

162 177 *Gishiga District.* — The settlements of the Maritime Koryak of the Gishiga district are situated along the shores of the Okhotsk and Bering Seas. I begin with the villages on the Okhotsk Sea.

197 184 361 1. The settlement Nayakhan (Koryak E'gıval, "West") is at the mouth of the Nayakhan River, in Gishiga Bay. Officially the clan is called the "Germanda Clan" (Германдейскій родъ), from the Germanda River (Koryak Lıgı'čmană[1]), on the banks of which the Koryak used to live. These Koryak, like those of the Okhotsk district, have become Russianized. They are of the Orthodox faith, and some of them are related to Russians. Although the Koryak language is still in use, it is spoken imperfectly, and not by all. Like the Koryak of the Okhotsk district, they have formed a peculiar dialect of the Russian language. They also speak the Tungus language, as they often come in contact with the Tungus, who in summer come to the Nayakhan settlement to attend the fair. The Nayakhan Koryak, like those of the Okhotsk district, live in log-cabins built after the Russian fashion. Their summer settlement is at the very mouth of the river; in winter they locate about four miles up the river.

The statistics of 1850 show that in the Germanda Clan there were twenty families, or 125 persons (65 men, 60 women); according to Patkanov (1897), there were only 42 persons (27 men, 15 women); while my figures (1901) show that there were eight families, or 35 persons (21 men, 14 women). Apparently the clan is becoming extinct. Nayakhan is at present the only Koryak settlement in Gishiga Bay.[2]

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[1] From Lı'gun, "stone-birch." Birch-trees, apparently, are found along the banks of this river.

[2] Until recently there was another small settlement of Maritime Koryak near the mouth of the Avekova River, but no permanent houses are to be found there any longer. In summer some families of Reindeer Koryak and Tungus fish there. In the town of Gishiginsk proper there were, according to the 1897 census, 17 Koryak.

361 In the above enumeration of settlements it is indicated which are occupied only in winter, and which only in summer. With few exceptions, the settlements of Maritime Koryak are situated near the mouth of a river or brook, in order to have a supply of fresh water. The majority of the settlements are situated on the rocky coasts of the seashore.

Plate XXII, Fig. 1, represents the steep rocks at the mouth of Penshina River, behind which the Kamenskoye settlement is concealed; while Plate XXIII, Fig. 1, represents part of Big Itkana.

342 177 The Maritime Koryak of the Nayakhan settlement and the Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district have completely abandoned their underground dwellings, and live in log-cabins like those of the Russians. The flat roof of these houses is made of logs covered with earth, which lets in the summer rain. Inside is a fireplace or a chimney like that of the Yakut, made of beaten clay.

342 The Koryak of northern Kamchatka who have embraced the Christian faith have abandoned their former dwellings under the pressure of the Russian Administration. Some of them live in log-cabins like those described above, and others live in houses of the Yakut type, which have been introduced into Kamchatka by the Russians. This structure consists of a flat roof with four slanting walls, and reminds one of a truncated pyramid. The walls are coated with clay to keep in the heat. Instead of the Yakut fireplace in the right-hand corner of the house, with a chimney for the escape of smoke, we find a hearth in the middle of the house and a smoke-hole in the roof.

Owing to the lack of timber, the Kerek build their semi-underground houses without the storm-roof. Since the smoke-hole does not serve as a means of exit, they have no ladder with holes. The frame of the house, placed in a pit, consists of crooked stakes covered with earth. The inside is covered all around with pieces of skin. In winter, to secure more heat, the dwellings are covered with a thick layer of snow. The entrance to the house, in summer as well as in winter, leads through a long, narrow hall. The inner arrangement of the house is similar to that of other Koryak underground dwellings.[1]

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee (Vol. VII of this series, p. 183).

But the Russians considerably improved upon the native type, and then 493 carried it to Kamchatka, the Koryak, Chukchee, and to the Russian settlers on the Amur. Part of the Yakut, who became dog-breeders but lately, have 174 also adopted this type of sledge. Its structure, dimensions, and firmness are well adapted for fast driving, for carrying heavy loads, and for making long journeys, — conditions of which the primitive tribes of Siberia had no need, or much less need than the Russian conquerors, — at first for military campaigns, and later for mercantile transports, the conveyance of officials and priests, and for carrying scientific expeditions. For the transportation of passengers the sledge had to be made long, with a comfortable seat in the rear,[1] and room in front for the driver. I also think that the vertical bow [177] ● of the sledge is a Russian invention. When jumping off the sledge during the journey, either to run for a while or to urge the dogs along, the driver does not let go of this bow. If he should, the dogs, on scenting game, or aroused by something else, might suddenly run away, leaving the driver in the wilderness. This danger is great when the number of dogs in harness is considerable and the sledge is without freight. Once when I myself drove a team of dogs and got off to adjust the sledge, the dogs suddenly ran away and left me alone. Luckily there was a village seven kilometres away, where the dogs stopped, while I escaped with no more serious result than having to walk this distance in heavy travelling-clothes.[2] The Yukaghir of the 492 Upper Kolyma, who have few dogs, and who are in the habit of helping 171 them to draw the sledge, use no vertical bow. In travelling over the Yukaghir territory on the Upper Kolyma River, I could make no use of Yukaghir dogs. They are unfit for fast driving with passengers and heavy freight. I had to hire horses from the distant Yakut villages. The Yukaghir themselves, in their wanderings, go on foot or on snowshoes. Only children and the sick sit on the sledges. But whenever I had to make short journeys, and it was inconvenient to send for Yakut horses, the Yukaghir, in order to carry me some five or ten miles, would combine the dogs of two or three households into one team. I would sit on the sledge alone, without a native driver. One Yukaghir on foot, — sometimes on snowshoes — would run in front, followed by the team; while another would run behind the sledge, holding in his hand one end of a long thong, the other end being tied to the

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[1] To a sledge intended for passengers a high netted back, made of sticks and strips of leather, is attached.

[2] I knew a certain Yakut, Nikolai Sleptsoff by name, who lived on the border of the forests, on the Kolyma tundra, and who in the spring was driving a dog-team over the open tundra, and fell ill with snow-blindness. Unable to see the trail, he could not drive, and he let the dogs go, in the hope that they would take him to the village. All at once he felt that the dogs had gotten off the trail and into the soft snow. He got off in order to feel for the trail with his feet; but the dogs, probably roused by some beast that passed by, ran away with the sledge, and left the blind Yakut alone in the tundra. Sixteen days he lay there, subsisting on melted snow. The Reindeer Yukaghir found him in a dying condition, and cared for him until he had regained his strength. The dogs and the sledge were found by the relatives of the Yakut, who went in search of him. They had strayed far away from the tundra, into the forest. The dogs, entangled in the bushes and in their own harness-straps, had died there.

The principal Russian fishing-stations for the capture of dog-salmon are 226 situated between the town of Gishiginsk and the settlement Kushka (at the mouth of the river), not more than thirteen miles apart. 136 In all the other rivers the Koryak catch the dog-salmon in the estuary or a few miles above it. 221

The humpback salmon enters the rivers nearly at the same time as the dog-salmon. As compared with the dog-salmon, the humpback salmon visits the Koryak rivers in very insignificant numbers only, but in some years it happens that the main run of fish consists of humpback salmon. In those years the dog-salmon is seldom seen.

At the end of May or in the beginning of June, *Salmo socialis* comes to the river-mouths or to the shallow bays to spawn. It does not ascend the rivers any considerable distance. The run lasts from seven to ten days, after which the fish return to the sea.

The salveline enters the rivers somewhat later than the dog-salmon, and goes rather far up the chief rivers and their tributaries. Not infrequently it spends the winter in these tributaries, and in spring descends to the sea. It is fished in the rivers in summer and until late in the autumn.

Tom-cod is caught in the river-mouths and bays chiefly in the fall; but it is sought both in summer and in winter, in the latter season in ice-holes in the rivers. Tom-cod is found all the year round in Itkana Bay, but even there the principal catch takes place in autumn. In spring, before the beginning of the salmon-run, the Koryak have such a craving for fresh fish that the inhabitants of the villages on the Paren and Kamenskoye side, and even those of the opposite side of Penshina Bay (from Ma′meč), go to Itkana to fish tom-cod. 177

Fishing-Implements. — To judge from the primitive form of fishing- 226 implements and of the material of which they are made, the Russians have exerted little influence upon the methods of Koryak fishing. Although the salmon-run in the Koryak rivers is not so abundant and varied as in those of Kamchatka, the dog-salmon run alone is so heavy, that, with good seine-nets, the Koryak would be able to take in their whole annual supply of fish within a few days; but they are as yet unfamiliar with seine-nets. For making nets, they use nettle-fibre, which they spin in a primitive and imperfect manner.

On the Gishiga River the Russian settlers employ seines and other nets, 286 which they make of imported Russian or oftener American twine. They are organized in artels.[1] From three to five families join forces, each procuring 226 one net or part of the seine, about sixteen or eighteen metres in length, and 177 from four to five metres in width. Such a net is from fifty-five to seventy meshes in width, and every side of a mesh measures from three and a half to five centimetres. To make a seine-net these separate nets are sewed together. The net, when in position, is about eighty metres long. For

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[1] Artel (артель) means in Russian a company of workers, also a gang of seiners.

177 226 286 sinkers, stones are employed, while the floats are made of wood or birch-bark. A long seal-skin thong, the use of which has been borrowed by the Russian settlers from the Koryak, serves to set the net. At each end of the seine this thong extends about fifteen metres. One end is left in the hands of the "shoremen," — that is, of the fishermen who remain on the bank of the river, — while the other end is kept in the boat in which the whole seine is placed. As the boat glides gradually away from the bank to the middle of the river, the seine is cast. Then the boat describes a semicircle against the current; then it turns slowly about towards the bank, the net having first been pursed. During this process the "shoremen", following the current, which carries along both the net and the boat, must move along the bank down the river. When the seine has been pursed, the oarsmen haul the boat ashore, and, with the help of the shoremen, gradually pull it in by both ends, and throw the fish into the boat after having stunned them with a club. The boats used by the Russians on the Gishiga River are of the Yukaghir type, and are made of poplar-wood.

[177] 286 226

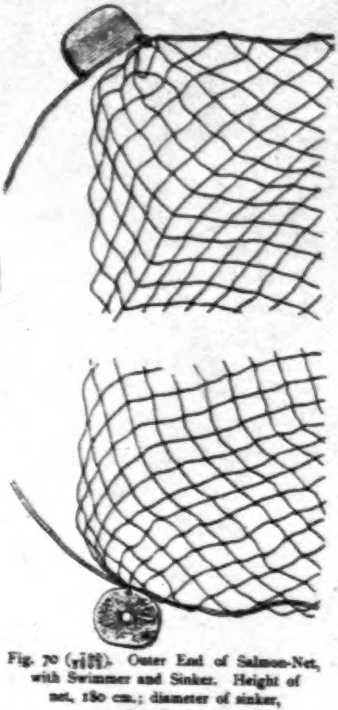

Fig. 70 ([illegible]). Outer End of Salmon-Net, with Swimmer and Sinker. Height of net, 180 cm.; diameter of sinker, 14 cm.; length of swimmer, 16.5 cm.

The Maritime Koryak have not adopted the seine-fishery of the Russian settlers. They use nets, — the same kind as they evidently employed before the arrival of the Russians, — tackle, hooks, harpoons, and traps.

Nets are made of nettle-fibre or sinew-thread. They are of the types of casting-nets, hand-nets, or dip-nets. Casting-nets for dog-salmon and humpback salmon (Fig. 70) are made of nettlethread. They are from twelve to fourteen metres in length; in width, from twenty-nine to thirty meshes, the sides of the meshes measuring from three to five centimetres. Disk-shaped sinkers are made of whale-vertebræ, and flat floats of drifted larch-wood are used. The thong to which the net is fastened is made of thong of the ringed-seal. The net is pushed into the water by means of a pole from twenty metres or more in length, (Plate XXVII, Fig. 2), made up of several pieces scarfed together, the joints being held by a winding of thong.
226 To push the net out, the end of the pole is placed in a loop in the thong, by

who live between the mouth of the Amur and Saghalin, of watching for 221
seals on the ice near the breathing-holes, or of placing nets near these holes.
The sea does not freeze over in winter to any extent, and the narrow strip 225
of coast ice is often torn away by the wind. The violent winds of winter
and the floating ice make trips in boats in winter dangerous or impossible.
For this reason there is no seal-hunting in winter either in the open sea or
on the ice. It is only by chance that every now and then a thong or ringed
seal is killed that goes astray on the coast ice or crosses over an isthmus
between two bays. In Gishiga Bay, where many coves freeze over to a
much greater extent than the open coasts of Penshina Bay, seal-hunting in
winter at breathing-holes would probably be possible. In excavating old [172
underground houses of the Maritime Koryak south of Gishiga I found, among
other fragments of bone implements, a round piece of antler of a fawn.
According to my Russianized Koryak companions, it might have served as an
ice-scratcher, such as are employed by the Chukchee and Eskimo in seal-hunting in winter.[1] At the present time, with the exception of the Russianized
Koryak of the settlement Nayakhan, there are no Koryak villages on the
coast of Gishiga Bay; while the Russians and the Russianized Koryak hunt
for sea-mammals only incidentally, even in summer.

At present, guns, nets, and harpoons are employed in hunting thong-seal. 177
Though guns, as will be seen later, are nowadays common enough among 225
the Koryak, they are used but little in seal-hunting. In deep water a seal, if it is not very fat, sinks immediately when killed by a bullet; if only wounded, it escapes. In shallow water, when hunted with the gun, it must be killed on the spot, else the wounded seal will succeed in getting away to the sea. Not infrequently even a seal killed outright is carried out to sea by the current of the river or by the tide, and cannot be found after the water has receded.

When detained by a gale in Atykino Bay[2] for five days, we hit spotted seals many a time with our Winchester and Berdan rifles, but only two of them were found at low water. The gun is of service only when the seal is ashore and far away from water.

In summer and autumn, when seals enter the river-mouths and bays, 225
they are hunted with nets. In autumn, seal-nets are set up mainly to catch
thong-seals. The net is netted of thongs made of the hide of thong-seals. 237
Fig. 85, *c* shows three meshes of such a net and the method of making the knots. The length of the side of a mesh is 23 cm.; the length of the whole net, 13 metres; its height, 14 meshes. These nets are placed in riverestuaries or on the beach. They are set at low tide by driving into the ground a row of stakes (Fig. 85, *b*), to which the nets are tied. The floats (Fig. 85, *a*,

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 36, *b*, *c*, p. 199.

[2] Atykino Bay lies midway between the mouths of Gishiga and Nayakhan Rivers (See Plate XXIX, Fig. 2).

237 are made of wood. Thong-seals become entangled in the nets when retur-
225 ning to the sea at ebb-tide. The hunters go to the nets before low water, and with bone mallets or clubs hit head and nose of the seals that are entangled in the meshes.

411
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Fig. 86 represents a mallet used for stunning seals. It is made of bone of whale, and the handle is of wood. Its length is 52 cm. This mallet is also used for killing seals that have fallen asleep on the shore.

● [177]

Up to the present the harpoon has remained the principal weapon for hunting seals. Before learning the use of iron, the Koryak used to make harpoon-heads (Koryak, yiyı') for seals of bone or ivory. Fig. 32, *a–c*, given by Mr. Bogoras,[1] represent types of harpoons similar to those of the Eskimo. Closely related to these is the type of Koryak harpoon shown in Fig. 87, *c*, and in Fig. 92. The principle of both of these specimens is the same as that of the Eskimo harpoon-head with blade parallel to the barbs. The back of the large harpoon-head is slightly keeled, and the barb is strongly curved and provided with a notch. An ornamented specimen of this kind is shown in Fig. 191, *c*. It is a characteristic trait of these specimens that the loop by which the harpoon-

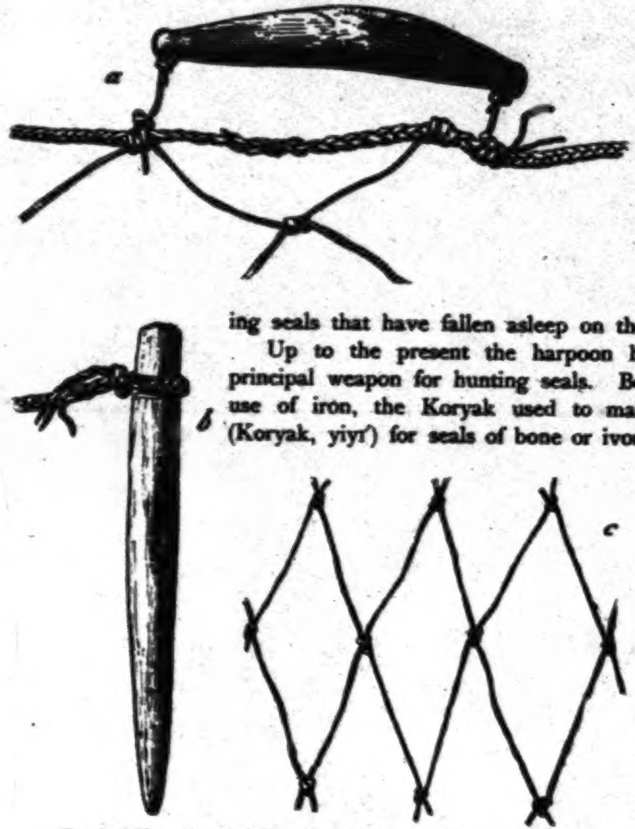

Fig. 85 ([illegible]). Details of Seal-Net. Size of mesh, 47 cm. *a*, Swimmer; *b*, Stake; *c*, Part of net.

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[1] Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 116.

225 221 from a lean seal only the skin is taken, while the carcass is cast into the sea. In many cases the spotted seal is hunted in summer for its skin only. The whole winter supply of seals is obtained in autumn by means of net and harpoon. At this season the temperature is so low that in the night, or even by day, the dead seals freeze and can be left in their skins. In autumn the seals are very fat, and when shot with a gun do not sink so easily. The hunters usually make two autumn expeditions out to sea for hunting seal (mainly thong-seal, in part ringed-seal, and very few spotted seals), each expedition lasting several days. Each boat is accompanied by several kayaks, which are either taken aboard or follow on independently.

225 433 In Kamenskoye and Itkana I collected some information concerning the numbers of seals killed for winter supply by the hunters in the autumn of 1900. The hunters keep no account of the number of seals killed and eaten in summer. In Kamenskoye the inventory made by me, of the autumn hunt of nineteen families, gave a total of 272 thong-seals, or an average of 14.3 to a family; the minimum catch of a family being 3, the maximum, 27. They had hunted ringed-seals as well, but kept no account of them. They were few in number, and part of them were eaten during the hunt. In general, during the autumn hunt attention is paid to the large seals only.

In Itkana I recorded the results of the autumn hunt of seals for the winter supply of seventeen families. There were, in all, 292 thong-seals and 89 ringed-seals, with an average of 17.2 thong-seals and 5.2 ringed-seals to a family. I also learned that 112 thong-seals were caught by means of nets, and 180 were killed with harpoons. It is clear from this that the inhabitants of Itkana were more successful than those of Kamenskoye. This is explained in part by the fact that very little salmon is caught at Itkana, which is situated on a bay with a small river in which the dog-salmon does not run, and therefore they have to content themselves mainly with catching such small fish as the salveline, tom-cod, smelt, and uyo'k *(Salmo socialis)*.

The inhabitants of Kuel and Paren, who obtain large supplies of dog-salmon on the Paren River, are much less occupied with seahunting than those of Itkana, and also less than those of Kamenskoye, who obtain dog-salmon in great quantities. The inhabitants of these settlements live principally on fish.

225 177 *Whale and Walrus Hunting.* — In former times whaling played a very important part both in Bering Sea and in the Sea of Okhotsk. To judge from the stories told by the Koryak, Penshina Bay used to be rich in whales, which were hunted frequently. This is sufficiently proved by the pre-eminence of the whale festival over other festivals. It is known from ancient records that American whalers visited Penshina Bay as early as the beginning of the last century. Old Koryak still relate how they themselves used to go whaling, but this industry came to an end many years ago. The

225 177 Koryak say that until lately three American whalers used to go to Penshina Bay every summer, but in the last two or three years only one went. Evidently the whales have left for the open sea to escape being hunted in the bays. While entering Nayakhan Bay[1] in a boat, we saw a great number of whales blowing far away in the mouth of Gishiga Bay. The Koryak do not venture to go whaling in their skin boats in the open sea. During their expeditions they do not go far from shore. In calm weather they cross Penshina Bay only at its narrow part, from Ma'meč to Itkana or from Ma'meč to Kamenskoye. If the Koryak have obtained any whales during the last few years, they have either been dead ones drifted ashore — whales wounded by whalers, but not caught by them, or those that perished from the attacks of the killer-whales — or whales killed by the American whalemen and left to them. In the latter case, the whalers take off the skin, blubber, and whalebone, and, after informing the Koryak, throw the rest of the body ashore, or even tow it to the nearest settlement. The Koryak speak with gratitude of these acts of the American whalers or at-ayim (i. e., "chiefs of the boats"); but probably the rapacious pursuit of whales by whalers is the principal cause of their disappearance from the Koryak bays. In the summer of 1900 the Koryak of Penshina Bay had two dead whales. One was cast out by the sea near the settlement Ma'meč, and the other was taken to the village Itkana by an American whaler, — the only one that year in Penshina Bay. It goes without saying that whaling by foreign whalers in Koryak waters is considered illegitimate by the Russians, and is possible only because of the absence of a Russian cruiser.

225 136 Exactly what species of whale the Koryak hunted is difficult to say. The whale which they honored with a festival is called by them yū'ñın. According to their description, this is the largest of all whales, with a skin of dark color and with black whalebone. When killed, the whale does not sink, owing to its blubber. This is evidently the Greenland whale (*Balæna mysticetus* L.). Another whale is called "diarrhœa-whale" (poqlä'-yū'ñın). It is small, and has white whalebone. The Koryak never hunted it, but ate it when washed ashore by the sea. A third kind of whale is called lu'kula'n, and is met with in the ocean, but never enters the bays. Finally the Koryak are also familiar with the killer-whale *(Orca gladiator Gill)*, which they call "wedge-whale" (wu'li-yū'ñın); but I did not observe that it is an object of cult, as among the Gilyak, who consider it a beneficent spirit, that kills large whales for them. Krasheninnikoff says that the Kamchadal dread the killer-whale so much, that they not only do not kill it, but do not even approach it, for fear that it will upset the boat of the hunter. Whenever they saw a killer-whale approaching their boats, they sacrificed to it, praying that it might do them no harm.[2]

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[1] Compare p. 403.

[2] See Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 426.

hunting-dogs are used, which attack the bear from the rear, make it turn around for self-defence, and prevent it from rushing at the hunter, who is thus enabled to take good aim or to choose an opportune moment for his attack. There are hunters among the Maritime Koryak who train dogs especially for hunting. These are not used in harness. Many of the dogs used for hauling sledges are not only of no help in bear-hunting, but are even a hindrance, owing to their cowardice, since they will hide behind their master. In winter the bear is attacked in its den in the manner common throughout Siberia. The opening of the den is blocked with logs, so that the animal, when awakened, cannot get out. The roof of the den is broken through, and the bear is stabbed to death with a spear or killed with a gun. Snares made of stout thongs are placed near the storehouses. I did not hear of other bear-traps, such as are employed in other parts of Siberia. I have described before the festival in honor of the bear.[1] 224

Foxes, particularly red foxes, are caught in great numbers, and their skins constitute the greatest part of the furs exported.[2] Fox-hunting is carried on in various ways, — with dogs, which the hunter sets on the track; by the Reindeer Koryak with reindeer-sledges. It is overtaken, and killed with clubs. Still another method is to drive the fox into its own den or into a hole, from which it is either pulled out by means of a cleft stick, or smoked out. Traps are also employed. These are the self-acting bow, the dead-fall, and the edge-trap with a spring of twisted sinew.[3] Shooting foxes with guns is seldom successful. Quite recently foxes have been poisoned by means of strychnine pills, which are scattered about. This method is in use near Russian settlements.

Krasheninnikoff asserts that all traps of the Kamchadal were introduced by the Russians. He states that previous to the arrival of the Russians the Kamchadal did not care for fox-skins, but preferred dog-skins, and that when they wanted to kill foxes, they did so by means of clubs. Foxes were so common that they would come to the troughs when the dogs were fed.[4] I believe that the same conditions prevailed among the Koryak. Even at present they set fewer traps by far than the Yukaghir and the Russianized tribes of Siberia. The Eskimo and Indians, too, employ various traps for the capture of animals;[5] but the traps with sinew spring,[6] found in Alaska, are probably of Siberian origin. The Koryak have evidently adopted the self-acting bow either from the Russians or from the Yakut and Tungus, who use it widely. 224 177

In the fur trade the red foxes of the Koryak territory, on account of their gorgeous and soft fur and its fiery-red color, are considered among the 224 136

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[1] See Part I, p. 88.

[2] See Chapter XIII, Trade.

[3] See Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting-Pursuits, etc., Figs. 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, pp. 6, 7, 11, 15, 18; Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Figs. 46–50, pp. 138–140.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 340.

[5] See Mason, Traps of the American Indians.

[6] Ibid., Fig. 5, p. 472; Nelson, Fig. 37, p. 122.

sables is of larger caliber than the one used for squirrels. Oftentimes the 224
Kamchadal shoot sables with shot. If the animal runs into a hole, the hunter 136
sets a nettle-thread net near the entrance, and drives it out either with the
help of a dog, which digs the hole open, or by means of smoke. In our
Koryak collection there is a sable-trap with sinew spring from the Opuka
River. It is one-third the size of similar traps used for catching wolves. In
Kamchatka a dead-fall is set for sables. Sable-hunting is a most difficult
pursuit, because the animal is very quick and cleverly escapes its pursuers.
It vanishes in the snow, and makes passages under it; it conceals itself
under stones, dry boughs, and roots of trees, and leaps from tree to tree,
making it difficult to take good aim at it.

The gray wolf (*Canis lupus* Linn.) inhabits the tundra. It is hunted
mainly by the Reindeer Koryak, who have to protect their herds against its
ravages. Besides, wolf's fur is considered handsome, and is used for
manufacturing caps, mittens, collars, and trimmings of clothing and foot-wear.
Part ot the wolf-skins are exported. In 1899 one hundred and twenty were
taken out of the Gishiga district. The Koryak hunt for wolves in the same
manner as do the Chukchee.[1]

Only a few skins of ermine (*Putorius ermineus* Linn.) are exported,
and it seems probable that the Koryak do not hunt it much. It would also
seem that this animal is not common in the Koryak territory.[2] Ermine is [177
hunted by the Russians and by the Maritime Koryak, who set near their
store-houses traps based on the principle of the self-acting bow, in which the
animals are strangled.[3] The Koryak have undoubtedly borrowed this device
from the Russians. In Siberia it is specially favored by the Yakut, who
employ it for all small animals, and I think it is a Yakut invention.

The otter *(Lutra vulgaris)* and wolverene *(Gulo borealis)* are rarely [294
met with, and are therefore merely casually hunted. Formerly the skins of
both of these animals were used for trimming festive garments. That of the
wolverene served for adorning the finest clothes among the Koryak as well
as among the Kamchadal and Chukchee. Even now wolverene-skins obtained 437
by local hunters are not exported from the extreme northeast of Siberia, but
they are imported by merchants as one of the most attractive articles of
barter. At present the Chukchee are the principal consumers of wolverene-skins,
and the wolverenes killed by the Kamchadal are also exported by
merchants to the Chukchee.

Bird-Hunting. — Birds of passage, like ducks, geese, and swans, were 223
formerly shot with bow and arrows, but are now shot with rifles. However,

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[1] Compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 137, 139. On the wolf festival see Part I, p. 89.

[2] In 1899, 124 skins were exported *via* Gishiga, while from the Kolyma district 6000 ermine-skins were exported *via* Yakutsk.

[3] See Jochelson, Sketch of the Hunting, etc., *Fig.* 8, *a, b*, p. 17; Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, *Fig.* 52, p. 143.

411 semicircular cross-section (Fig. 97) was employed, which served as a plane,
322 knives being inserted into the blade-holes.

Previous to the introduction of iron, spears were made of bone and
411 stone. The stone spear is still in use, but only for hunting whales (see
● 177 Fig. 93, p. 552). Traditions are still handed down concerning the bone spears which were used both in
[412] war and in hunting. Krasheninnikoff mentions the threepronged spears of the Koryak.[1] Presumably the iron spear superseded the old bone spear, at an early time. The spear played an important rôle in hand-to-hand fights. Tradition relates how the heroes, wielding only a spear, overcame their enemies. In olden times there were also contests with spears. Iron spears[2] are nowadays employed only in bear-hunting and in killing reindeer and dogs for sacrifice.[3] Every herdsman owns an iron spear, which is tied to the right side of the riding-sleigh, which is usually provided with bone rings for suspending it.

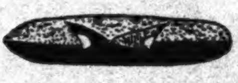

Fig. 97 ([illegible]). Bone Planer.
Length, 7.5 cm.

Another weapon used in hand-to-hand fights was the big knife (mainowal). It was about 50–60 cm. long, with a short handle of bone. It was carried in a sheath on the left side, like a short-sword, suspended from a shoulder-strap. It is not known what kind of weapon was supplanted by the iron knife. The Yukaghir, according to tradition, used long battle-knives made of elk-ribs. The big knife is used at present chiefly by the Reindeer Koryak, who carry it on journeys and use it for chopping wood for the fire and for cutting frozen meat; but even in quite recent times this knife served as a weapon.

174 Judging from accounts of the customs of former times, the slung-shot
411 must have been used in war. In consisted of a long thong of thong-seal hide, with a stone at its end. In one tradition which I recorded in Nayakhan, in which a battle between two heroes is described, it is related that the warrior from Nayakhan — who was known under the name of "Woman-Snatcher," because he took by violence all the women who pleased him — was once surprised by a hostile hero when he had no bow and spear, but only a slung-shot, which he wore like a belt. While dodging his adversary's arrows, he hurled his slungshot at the latter with such force that the line encircled his body several times and cut him in twain.

411 The Russians early introduced a wide-bore flintlock gun for hunting sea-mammals.[4] Powder and lead are supplied by the government and are sold
177 at cost price. The lead bullets are made by the hunters themselves.

Some Koryak own Winchester rifles, which are obtained either directly

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[1] Krasheninnikoff, I, p. 51.
[2] See Fig. 143
[3] See Part I, Plate VII, Fig. 2, opposite p. 80; and Part I, Plate X, opposite p. 96.
[4] For description compare, Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 159.

411 from American whalers or through barter from the Chukchee. During the last few years many Koryak have acquired Berdan rifles, with which the ● 177 Russian Army was equipped until 1895. When the army was equipped with magazine-rifles, the government sold the old rifles at low prices. Thus the Berdan rifle reached the Koryak. I took fifteen of these rifles along from Vladivostok, and exchanged them for articles for our collection, or gave them away in return for services.

714 *Armor.* — The Chukchee and Koryak coats of mail collected by us have been described by Mr. Bogoras.[1] I merely wish to add that in my opinion the upper part of the armor had two wings. The absence of one wing from our specimens proves only that they are not complete. This is confirmed not only by the presence of thong-holes on that side of the head-protector on which the wing is missing, and by the fact that in some pieces of armor the right wing is missing, in others the left, but also by the information gathered from men acquainted with the old customs of the tribe. At first some Koryak explained the absence of the left wing on suits of armor by the fact that they had belonged to lefthanded warriors, and that the wing was left off that the left hand might be free. This statement is mentioned by Mr. Bogoras;[2] but subsequently, on further inquiry, some old men, who knew how armor had been worn, denied this, and asserted that the complete armor had two wings, protecting the two arms. I was told, further, that the Reindeer Koryak in the northern part of Palpal, where I could not go owing to lack of time, still preserved several complete coats of mail which at present are worn at sacrifices on the occasion of the festival of reindeer-races.[3] A Reindeer Koryak of Palpal, whom I saw in the village of Kamenskoye, promised to bring me a complete suit of armor, but he did not keep his promise. Even the incomplete ones were obtained with great difficulty. For a long time the owners would not agree to sell them. The arms, which were passed through the loops inside the wings on the side of the head-protector, held the armor in place on the shoulders; while the fingers or hands were thrust through the small loops at the edge of the wings when it was desired to cover the arm entirely. Fig. 98 shows a Koryak clad in armor, with his left arm free,

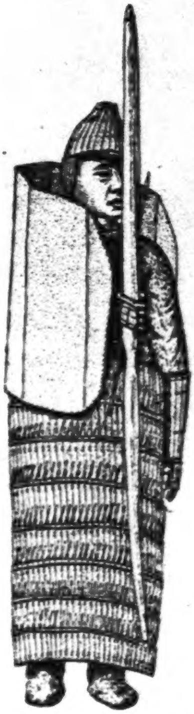

Fig. 98. Koryak Warrior.

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[1] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of the series, pp. 161–168.

[2] Ibid., p. 165.

[3] See Part I, p. 88.

which, however, may be protected by the left wing, like his right arm, by 714
putting a wing-loop on his hand. How much strength, agility, and exercise must have been required to fight in so heavy and uncomfortable a costume! In one myth,[1] when Big-Raven offered his son Ememqut an armor for a battle with the Chukchee, the son declined the offer and went to battle armed only with his spear.

Fig. 98 also shows how the helmet and arm-guards made of small iron plates were worn.[2] The warriors wore a fur band under the helmet to protect the forehead against the hard iron. The lower part of the armor, which consists of small iron plates tied together with thong, resembles a skirt. It was closed at the side by means of short straps.

Plate XXIX, Fig. 1, represents two Koryak in armor, with bent bows. The plate is the reproduction of a photograph taken by me, except that the artist, Mr. Rudolf Cronau, sketched in under my direction the missing wing of the armor.

Prior to their acquaintance with iron mail-coats, — which I suppose were [177]
introduced by the Tungus,[3] — the Koryak wore mail-coats of walrus-skin or of small plates of bone joined by means of straps. Krasheninnikoff says that "the Koryak armor consisted of oblong bone pieces sewed together with thongs".[4]

Fortifications. — The maritime Koryak fortified their villages in order 361
to prevent sudden attacks by the enemy and to withstand a siege. Whenever
possible, they built their villages on islands near the coast, to which they 722
resorted to fish and hunt sea-mammals. They had temporary dwellings at 712
the mouths of rivers. At the approach of a foe, they would take to their boats and disappear in the natural forts formed by the rocky islands. At present these islets are uninhabited, but it is said that on many of them traces of ancient dwellings may still be seen. To my regret, during the first half of the summer of 1901, which I spent in the Russian settlement Kushka, at the mouth of the Gishiga River, it was impossible to venture out in the wooden boats of the Russian settlers to the islands of which the Koryak spoke to me.[5]

Where no islands were near the coast, the maritime Koryak fortified their villages. The islanders, too, fortified their temporary coast settlements. All the coast villages were built on hills with a steep descent to the sea. On the land side the settlement was surrounded by an embankment, a stone wall, or a stockade. When an attack was expected, sentinels were stationed on

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[1] See Part I, p. 138.

[2] Compare Bogoras, The Chukchee, pp. 167, 168.

[3] See Chapter X.

[4] Compare Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 51.

[5] During that summer I succeeded in making two trips in wooden boats from the mouth of the Gishiga River, — one to the Koryak at the mouth of the Ovekova River, a distance of about fourteen miles; and the other to the Koryak at the mouth of the Nayakhan River, a distance of a hundred miles. The latter trip was considered so dangerous that the Russian settlers advised me not to undertake it. But luck favored us, the weather was fine, and I covered the distance in two days, but on the return trip we were detained in the uninhabited Bay of Atykino (See Plate XXIX, Fig. 2) for several days by stormy weather.

VIII — HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

Household Utensils. — The ancient method of making fire, by means of a drill, is at present employed only in religious ceremonies. Since the fire-drill is esteemed as the most important protector of the family,[1] it may be concluded that the Koryak looked upon fire as a beneficent agent. There are sacrifices in honor of the fire; fire is also a mediator between man and the deities, since offerings are burned in it.[2] At the present time the use of sulphur or Swedish matches is quite widespread. Even when obtaining the sacred fire, some Koryak turn the drill for a short time as a formality only, and the fire is really kindled with a match; but they cannot always obtain matches, so that the most common means of obtaining fire is the strike-a-light. Although not much used, the strike-a-light seems to have been known to the Koryak prior to their encounter with the Russians, having been introduced by the Tungus, who had received it from the Amur tribes. Even now, merchants often import from Vladivostok steel and flint of Chinese origin. Tinder is prepared from a fungus which grows on the stumps of birch-trees. The fungus is stripped of its hard outer layer, and the inner spongy mass is boiled in water. Then it is dried; and a light, brittle, and highly inflammable punk is thus obtained. 372 [177]

Fire-making tools are more often needed by the nomadic Reindeer Koryak than by the sedentary Maritime people. A new fire need rarely be made in the underground houses of the Maritime Koryak. The women are very skilful in keeping up the fire of the hearth. They cover the embers with ashes; and when reviving the fire, they rake it up, put small chips of wood on the glowing embers, and fan them until they burst into flame. The Maritime Koryak need fire-tools only on journeys. However, when in possession of matches, they are very fond of striking them to light their lamps or pipes, even when the fire is burning on the hearth. On the other hand, if the fire goes out entirely, and neither match nor tinder is on hand, the ancient method of obtaining fire by means of the drill-bow is resorted to. This, however, happens very rarely.

For purposes of lighting, a stone lamp (ɪ'ek) is used. It is made of sandstone, in the shape of a shallow basin. The lamp is placed on a wooden block or stand from 50 cm. to 60 cm. in height. Fig. 99 represents two of these lamps and stands, which I obtained from the Maritime Koryak. 354

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[1] See Part I, pp. 33–36; Figs. 2, 3; Plate VI, opp. p. 79.

[2] Ibid., p. 98.

among the Reindeer Koryak, stone lamps have gone out of use, just as among the 354
Chukchee. They are replaced by round iron frying-pans without handles, 177
which are imported by Russian merchants. The Maritime Koryak relate that
in olden times they also made clay lamps (sa̐'yek, "earthen or clay lamp:" [172
from sa̐, "earth or clay;" and ĸ'ek, "lamp") such as are still used by the Chukchee and Eskimo; but among the finds made in excavating ancient underground houses, I did not come across a single clay lamp. In one house I found a lamp made of a whale-vertebra (yu'ñıtemĸ'ek, i. e., "of bone of whale lamp"). It is represented in Fig. 100.

The lamp of the Maritime Koryak serves for lighting exclusively. Wood
is used for heating and cooking. The 313
hearth has been described before.[1] Driftwood is cut in summer and autumn for use as fuel. The wood is split into thin billets 50 cm. or 75 cm. long, which catch fire quickly and do not smoke much. It is stored away on the roof of the house.[2] The
fire is started twice every day, — in 512
the morning, on rising; and in the
evening, before going to bed, — at 372
the time of the two principal meals. The morning fire also warms the house for the day, the evening fire for the night. In the middle of the day the fire is rarely started. In general, the sedentary Koryak are saving of their fuel, even in settlements where there is no lack of wood. If guests arrive during the day, a fire is made to make tea and to warm the house.

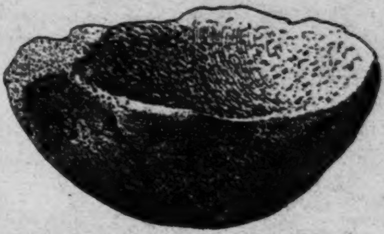

Fig. 100 ([illegible]). Lamp made of the Vertebra of a Whale. Length, 14 cm.

To a certain degree, the lamp of the Reindeer Koryak heats the sleeping- 252
tent in which it burns; but food and tea are prepared on the hearth, in the
outer tent.[3] I have never seen food heated over the lamp in the sleeping- 354
tent. Tea and boiled food are served by the women in the sleeping-tent. This, more than the lamp, aids in heating the sleeping-room. Over the lamp, however, wet footwear and mittens are hung to dry; but generally the drying of wet clothes is done in front of the hearth in the outer tent, or by freezing them out of doors, beating off the ice, and then warming them by the fire.

Properly speaking, the Koryak have no furniture whatever. The favorite 352
position is sitting on the ground or on skins, with legs either crossed Turkish
fashion or stretched out, or crouching. In the houses of the Maritime Koryak, 516
the low thresholds which divide the sleeping-places from the middle part of the house are always used as seats; and in the outer tents of the Reindeer Koryak the sledges, which are brought in, and on which lie the bags of provisions, are utilized for this purpose.

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[1] See p. 458.

[2] See p. 459.

[3] See p. 458.

352 Fig. 101 shows a stool of the Reindeer Koryak. It is made of reindeer-antlers still attached to the frontal bone. The beams and two tines of the antlers serve as legs, and two boards are tied to them to make the seat. This chair seems to be an imitation of a Russian bench. Nowadays, however, it is often found with the Reindeer Koryak. The Maritime Koryak also use, instead of chairs, the boxes in which they keep the tea-dishes. On Plate xx a girl is shown sitting by the fireside on such a box, and the other one is
264 sitting in a crouching position. The use of tables is unknown to the Koryak.
352 With the exception of the Russianized natives, they place a board or a trough-shaped dish on the skins on which they sit, and put the carved meat or fish, with seal-oil, on it. The people sit around and eat, taking up the pieces with their hands. Often the box in which the tea-dishes are kept serves as a table. Others have a table-board made of two or three planks, which is put on the box when they are eating, or drinking tea. However, in some houses of the Maritime Koryak, very small low tables, 30 cm. or 40 cm. high, may be found, at which the guests eat; but the Russianized Koryak of North Kamchatka and of the villages of the Okhotsk Sea south of the Gishiga River, who live in log-cabins, also use benches, chairs, tables, and beds, like their Russian neighbors.

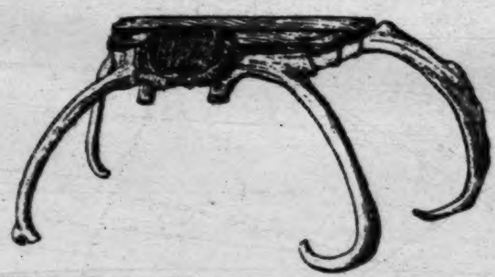

Fig. 101 ([illegible]). Stool made of a Pair of Antlers. Height, 41 cm.

252 With the introduction of metal cooking-vessels, these entirely superseded
clay pots, and the method of cooking food by means of red-hot stones went
415 out of use. Nowadays cooking is done only in iron and copper kettles
imported by merchants. The Koryak prize copper kettles particularly, as they
● 177 are durable; but they are not easily obtained, owing to their high price, and only the wealthy reindeer-breeders or Koryak engaged in trade or barter can afford to buy them. Such kettles last a very long time. Of course, the tin lining wears off very soon, but the Koryak continue to cook in them.
326] The Koryak smiths of the villages Paren and Kuel have learned to make kettles from imported sheet-iron. In imitation of our metal waterpails, they give them the shape of a truncated cone, with a wire handle by which to suspend them over the fire. These kettles do not last long. The thin sheet-iron soon burns through, or is eaten through by rust in the damp summer.

At present the teapot is another metal appurtanance of the household. The dealers import chiefly copper pots, but some are found of enamelled white iron.

514 177 556 Instead of a wooden chamber-vessel, rich reindeer-breeders use imported brass wash-basins. Once when I had to remain over night at the tent of a wealthy reindeer-breeder, I had to sleep in the same tent with the proprietors. As soon as I entered the inner tent, and before I had had time to warm up and drink my tea, the host, as a special mark of courtesy, brought in the brass basin and placed it in the corner of the tent.

262 ANIMAL FOOD. — Animal food is the principal, if not the exclusive nourishment of the Koryak, particularly of the Reindeer Koryak, who use less vegetable food than do the Maritime people. Animal food consists of fish, sea-mammals, reindeer, mountain-sheep, bears, birds, and shell-fish.

262 252 Fish, fresh and sun-dried, is the main food of the Maritime Koryak. During the summer and autumn, boiled fresh fish is eaten. The people are also fond of frying fresh fish on spits. Heads of fish are eaten raw, the cartilages being considered dainties. In winter, fish is eaten both cooked and raw. Raw fish is eaten frozen and sliced into thin chips. The eating of frozen fish is, however, much more widespread among the Arctic tribes west of the Stanovoi Ridge and among the Russians.

251 Dried fish (called by the Russian settlers "yukola") is prepared by the women on the river-bank or seashore during the summer fishing-season, and is preserved for winter use. Plate XXX, Fig. 2, shows how the women cut fresh dog-salmon for drying it in the sun. First the head is cut off, which is dried separately. Then the maw is ripped open with a knife, and the entrails are taken out. The roe is dried separately, and the flesh is cut in broad strips along both sides of the backbone. These strips remain joined at the tail, and are thus hung over the poles of the drying-frames. On sunny days the drying proceeds very fast. In three or four days the yukola is ready. In clear weather the preliminary drying is done on open drying-frames, as shown on Plate XXXI. When dry, the yukola is taken off from the drying-frames and hung under the platform of the storehouse. In autumn, when the nights are cold, and there is no danger of rot being caused by dampness, the dried fish are piled up and placed in the storehouse. The sun-dried fish is covered with a dry crust, beneath which the flesh remains soft, and the fat is preserved; but the process of air-drying rarely goes on without trouble. On hot days, in the absence of winds, numerous large flies settle on the fish, and lay their eggs. After two or three days, larvæ come out, which devour the juicy part of the yukola, and leave only a thin, dry, and tasteless layer on the skin. The preparation of the yukola fares still worse if foggy and rainy days prevail during the period of the main catch. Though hung up under special platforms or under the platform of the storehouse, the sliced fish does not dry, but begins to decompose, and the decaying pieces become detached from the skin and fall to the ground; so that in a wet summer, even when the catch of fish has been excellent, the Koryak

262 boiled as a gruel. Most of the Koryak can rarely afford to have imported
439 food, as they have no money with which to buy it. Biscuits and fresh bread
also have the reputation of being good food; but these, too, very rarely come
[437] within their reach. In winter the cossaks and other Russian inhabitants take
bread to the Koryak villages and camps, and exchange it for reindeer-meat
and other products. Still the Koryak look upon biscuit and bread rather as
a dainty, and not as a real food on which a human being can subsist. I
have heard the Koryak say that when they eat too much bread, they suffer
from stomach-ache.

272 Tea came to be known after the people had come into contact with the
177 Russians. At present its use is wide-spread everywhere. Most of the Koryak,
however, have no tea in summer, as they lack the means to buy large
supplies. The kind of tea used is brick-tea. To make tea, the brick is
heated by the hearth, as a result of which it becomes soft and can be minced
with a knife. The minced tea is boiled in a tea-pot. The tea decoction is
strong, and almost black in color. Brick-tea is inferior to leaf-tea as a stimul-
272 ant. The Koryak drink much tea, ten and more cups in succession, and do
264 so several times a day, provided they find any one willing to treat them.
Usually the Koryak drink tea after meals; but when guests are feasted, a
light side-dish, like sun-dried fish, marrow from reindeer-legs, or berry-pudding,
is served first, then tea, and finally meat dishes. Tea is served in the same
order by the other inhabitants of northeastern Siberia; for instance, by the
415 Yakut, Tungus, and Yukaghir. A teapot and two or three cups of crockery
or enamelled ware, with saucers, are found in nearly every house. They are
177 preserved as treasures, in special boxes with holes chiselled out for the cups;
or they are wrapped in soft rags. In the absence of a sufficient number of
cups, they drink tea by turns, the women and children after the older people.
Visitors usually bring their own cups with them. The Koryak also have
home-made cups made of deer-antler and horn of the mountain-sheep. The
small tin cans in which our condensed milk was put up were very cleverly
turned into cups with tin handles. The Koryak drink the hottest tea from
them without burning their lips.

276 NARCOTICS AND STIMULANTS. — The Koryak have also learned the use of
tobacco from the Russians, and, like all other Siberian natives, they are passion-
177 ately fond of it. But while others, the Chukchee among them, mainly smoke
tobacco, very few smokers are found among the Koryak. Generally they
chew it, more rarely they snuff it, or they use it in both ways. They use
strong Russian leaf-tobacco, imported from the south of European Russia, in
bunches of about two pounds each.

For both chewing and snuffing, the tobacco is ground with ashes.
[137] Fig. 113 shows a wooden mortar with a pestle for grinding tobacco. When
grinding the tobacco, dried leaves of cudweed (*Gnaphalium uliginosum* L.)
are often added,

are often added. Ground tobacco is kept in birch-bark tobacco-boxes, which 000
are suspended from the belt in skin cases. These cases are often embroidered 415
with glass beads (see Fig. 133). When chewing, the pinch of tobacco is 531
placed between the cheek and the jaw-bone. When thus used, the tobacco 276
causes an abundant flow of saliva, and therefore the Koryak constantly
expectorate.

Tobacco-leaves are also used for chewing. In this form, tobacco does 276
not irritate the mucous membrane of the mouth as much as when ground.
The use of it rolled, however, is more economical. A rolled
piece of a leaf will last for a long time. After having tobacco
in the mouth for a time, the Koryak takes it out and puts it
behind his ear, as we do with a pencil, and then continues to
chew it afresh a few minutes later.

I saw very few Koryak smoking, at least among those of 276
Penshina Bay: therefore very few pipes are found. They 177
manufacture very few themselves. Thus the large pipe represented in Fig. 114, purchased in the village of Kamenskoye, had been bought from the Chukchee, and resembles the large Eskimo pipes of this type. The pipe shown in Fig. 185, *c*, had been obtained on the coast of Bering Sea. I saw a few small copper pipes that had been imported by merchants from Vladivostok: these are of Chinese origin. For smoking-purposes, tobacco is cut up fine with an ordinary knife on a board, and mixed with finely cut aspen bark.

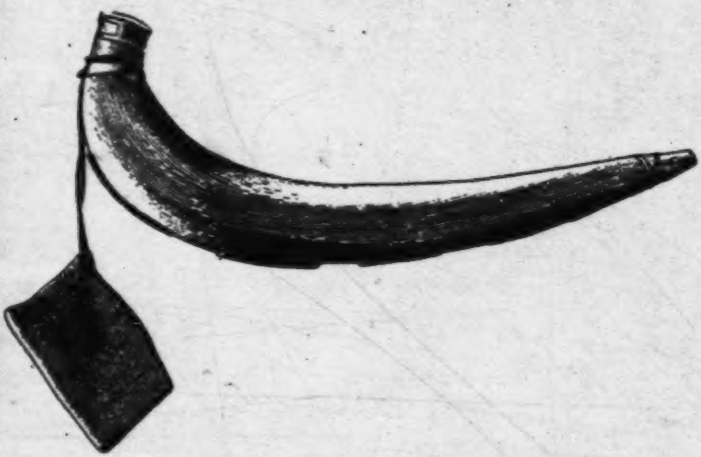

Fig. 114 ([illegible]). Tobacco-Pipe. Length, 71 cm.

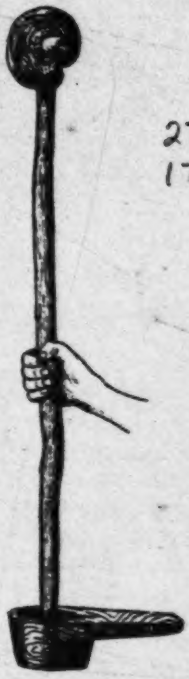

Fig. 113, ([illegible]). Tobacco Mortar and Pestle.
Length of pestle, 103 cm.

276 afterwards. I was told of two old men who also drank their own urine when
514 intoxicated by brandy, and that the intoxication was thus kept up.

276 From three to ten dried fungi can be eaten without deadly effect. Some individuals are intoxicated after consuming three. Cases of death rarely occur. I was told of a case in which a Koryak swallowed ten mushrooms without feeling their effect. When he swallowed one more, vomiting set in, and he died. In the opinion of the Koryak, the spirits of the fly-agaric had choked him.[1] They related that these spirits had come out with the matter vomited, in the shape of worms, and that they vanished underground.

273 The Koryak were made acquainted with brandy by the Russians and by
American whalers. Despite the prohibition issued by the Russian Government
● 177 against the importation of brandy, it often finds its way in winter into the
Koryak villages and camps, being taken there on trading-trips by Russian
merchants. Whalers take it to the coast settlements in summer. Like all
[437] other primitive tribes, the Koryak are passionate consumers of brandy, and
dealers often obtain an arctic or red fox in exchange for one wineglassful of
brandy. To my question as to which they preferred, brandy or fly-agaric,
many Koryak answered, "Fly-agaric." Intoxication from the latter is considered
more pleasurable, and the reaction is less painful, than that following brandy.
273 Like fly-agaric, brandy is drunk chiefly by elderly men. Old people do not
[888] give it to the young, that they themselves may not be deprived of the
pleasure; and if young people or women happen to obtain brandy, they
frequently give it up to the older members of the family. Two herd-owners
[177] whom I met on the Palpal were entirely unacquainted with this drink. Some
Koryak in the coast villages have learned from the Russian Cossacks how to
make brandy of bleaberries. They subject the berries to fermentation, and
by means of a pipe distil the liquid from one iron kettle into another, the
latter serving as a refrigerator. The result is a rather strong liquor of such
disgusting taste and odor that the mere attempt to taste it nauseated me.
Krasheninnikoff[2] says that the Cossacks in Kamchatka and, following their
example, the Kamchadal, distilled brandy from "sweet grass" (*Heracleum
sphandilium*).

264 MEALS. — The Koryak are rather moderate in their use of food. Such gluttons as are seen among the Yakut are rarely found among them. They eat twice a day — in the morning, soon after rising; and at night, before going to bed. If the food-supply is abundant, they take a light third meal in the middle of the day. The Reindeer Koryak usually eat reindeer-meat both morning and evening; while the Maritime Koryak generally eat sun-dried fish in the morning, and seal-meat, if there be any on hand, in the evening. In general, the principal meal is taken in the evening. The habit of eating heartily before bedtime is widespread throughout northern Siberia.

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[1] On the religious attitude towards fly-agaric, see Part I, p. 120.

[2] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 406.

281 291 171 trimming there is inserted a strip of reindeer-skin about four or five inches wide, and of a color different from that of the whole coat. If the coat is made of dark skins, the inserted strip is of light or mottled color, and *vice versâ*. The Chukchee woman's coat is generally shorter than that of the Koryak. Under the coat of the Chukchee woman the lower part of the trousers is visible, but rarely under that of the Koryak woman. Among the Chukchee, coats are seldom provided with hoods, while among the Koryak all the women's coats and many of the men's travelling-coats, are furnished with hoods. Funeral clothing is never made without hoods.[1] The women of the Maritime Koryak use almost no caps at all, contenting themselves with throwing their hoods over their heads. The women of the Reindeer Koryak go without caps,[2] not only about the house, but even to the herd.

The travelling-coat of men for winter (la′xlan-ı′ sān) is double, consisting of two fur shirts so adjusted that one is inside the other, and they are put on and taken off together. The inner shirt has the hair toward the body; the outer, outward. The two shirts are not sewed together, so that they are easily taken apart and can be worn separately. The outer one is made of the skins of fawns, preferably of those of mottled color killed late in the fall. Black or dark brown spots on a white or grayish background are considered 291 particularly pretty, but the skins most commonly used have white or grayish spots on a dark or a light-tawny background. [171] White or light-gray skins are used for funeral clothing only.[3] Russian settlers and Russianized natives prefer black or dark-tawny reindeer-skins. In certain localities this taste is developing also among the Koryak. Thus the Koryak who are engaged in trade, and rich reindeer-breeders, wear outer coats of dark skins. The inner coat is usually made of skins of younger fawns, from one to three months old, so that the double coat may not be too thick and hinder movement. Besides, the tender fur of young fawns is more pleasant to wear next to the body than the thicker hair of the older fawns. The Koryak wear fur clothing next to the body. Excepting those entirely Russianized, very few Koryak wear chintz or calico shirts under the fur clothing. These are worn without change until they fall to pieces.[4]

291 281 294 Women rarely wear a double winter coat, as they put the coat on over the double fur combination-suit which will be described later on. For the most part, women wear the single coat, fur inward. The skin side, well

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[1] See Part I, pp. 106, 108.

[2] It is interesting to note here Turner's statement that the Eskimo of Hudson Bay "do not wear caps, the hood of the frocks being the only head-covering" (see Turner, p. 209).

[3] See Part I, p. 105. According to Murdoch (p. 109), the Eskimo of Point Barrow value the skins of the white Siberian domestic reindeer highly "for full-dress jackets." But the Koryak do not wear clothing of white skins.

[4] Like the Russian settlers, the Koryak of Russianized villages wear chintz shirts, flannel blouses, or knit jackets under their fur coats. I saw some Maritime Koryak wearing American knit sweaters or coats purchased from the American whalers. A very comical figure indeed was presented by a Koryak clad in trousers and boots of reindeer-skins and a cutaway coat of modern stile, which he wore without shirt and vest.

sitting down, they fold the sleeves over their knees. In the Koryak villages 514
or camps, wonen may often be seen sitting down in this fashion and keeping
up their conversation with their companions or with the men. The coat-skirts
touch the ground, and give to the women who are thus sitting down an
entirely careless and easy appearance. When rising, they re-adjust their suits
almost unnoticeably to an observer.

While travelling, wealthy Koryak wear over the fur coat a wide shirt 291
with a hood of plain curried or smoked reindeer-skin or of flannel or chintz.
The outer shirt protects from the wind and preserves the fur clothing from 177
snow, which, on melting, would soak into the hair and cause it to fall off.
An overcoat of gaudy chintz, flannel, or other imported goods, has now
become an article of smart dress. For overcoats the wealthy reindeer-breeders
buy imported red broadcloth at high prices. Thus a yard of the coarsest
red broadcloth frequently brings one cross-fox in exchange.

Fig. 120 represents a coat made of reindeer-skins, in the style of a jacket with an opening in front. It was purchased by me from the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula. Coats of this pattern are found in other places as well, though very rarely, and seem to be an imitation of the Russian style. They differ from the Tungus coats in that the lapels come together, while in the Tungus coats they are cut like those of a cutaway coat.

Men's Winter Trousers. — The winter trousers are double, like the 291
coat (Fig. 121). The outer ones are made of shaggy skins of older fawns.
The trousers have no belt. Along the top edge a hem of skin is sewed on, 291
through which a string passes for drawing them tight. In front they cover 294
only the lower part of the abdomen, about the groins; in the back they are
cut a little higher, and reach to the upper rim of the pelvis. The trousers
have a tendency to slip down, and a Koryak may often be seen raising his
trousers with a movement of the hand along the coat. There is no slit in
front for voiding urine. There is no need of such a slit, because the border
of the trousers comes very low down on the abdomen. In front, where the
draw-string is pulled tight, a flap of skin is either pulled up underneath it,
above the upper border of the trousers, or it is turned in over the draw-string
to keep it from cutting the abdomen. Men's trousers are quite tight-fitting.
Narrowing down, they reach a little below the calves, and are drawn together
about the legs with draw-strings, just as they are around the waist. The legs
of the fur boots are tied over the trousers. The Reindeer Koryak, especially [171]
on the Palpal, wear wide winter trousers cut like those of the Chukchee,
which reach down to a little above the ankles, and are tied over the short-legged
shoes.

Fig. 122 represents a man's winter trousers, with boots sewed on. Such trousers are rarely met with, and are either imitations of a foreign type or relics of an older fashion. Among the Yukaghir may be found boots with

291 hair of which is cut short. Hence the legs of women appear very stout about
294 their calves, between the lower and upper strings with which the boots are
tied. A woman's winter boot, with fur stockings inside, the legs of the boot
281 ornamented with inserted parallel lines of white fur, is shown in Fig. 123, *b*.

Stockings are made of the skins of large fawns, and are worn with the hair side in. With the boots, the stockings form a double foot-wear, just as two fur shirts compose a double coat, and are mostly put on and pulled off together. For the night, however, stockings which have been worn during the day are taken out of the boots, turned inside out, and hung over the hearth or out of doors to dry. The skin for stockings is dressed soft, and the flesh side is painted cinnamon-color.[1] Stockings are made large, with a wide semicircular toe, like the boots, into which they fit snugly. The cut of a fur stocking differs from that of a fur boot in that there is no stripe inserted between the sole and the vamp. A small leather strap is sewed to the upper end of each stocking. These are tied together when the stockings are hung up to dry. Before the stocking is put into the boot, dry grass, of which a supply is always kept on hand, is put in. The grass lining adds to the softness of the fur foot-wear, and protects the foot against injuries. The grass lining must be changed often to keep it dry and soft.

292 When traveling in very cold weather, or sleeping over night under the
open sky, short hare-skin socks are often worn inside the stockings. I also
177 had occasion to see some of my Maritime Koryak drivers, when sleeping at
night on the snow by the camp-fire, put on over their travelling-boots huge galoches made of the winter skins of reindeer. They would then put a long double fur shirt over the short one, draw hands and head within the shirt, and lie down on the snow, head to the fire. These large boots are evidently a Russian invention lately adopted by the Koryak. In general, the Koryak are not particularly careful to protect themselves against the cold when sleeping out of doors. Not infrequently herdsmen pass cold nights wearing only a single coat, with belt. The stockings for short boots of men are also short.

281 *Winter Cap and Mittens.* — The winter cap (ḷa'xḷan pe'nken) is double,
and made of the fur of reindeer-fawns. The inner lining is the fur of a
291 new-born fawn or of one a month old. The outer cap is often made of dog
or wolf paws. In front and at the back it is trimmed with a strip of shaggy
294 dog or wolf fur. Costly caps are trimmed with wolverene-fur all round. The
top of the cap is rounded. It has the shape of an old woman's sweeping-cap (Fig. 124). In front the fur trimming protects the fore-head; at the back the cap covers the occiput and neck. A rather long leather strap, the ends of which are sewed to the lower edges of the cap, is twisted once under the chin (Fig. 124, *a*; and Plate XXXII, Fig. 1), and the end loop is turned back

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[1] See Chapter X.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Women's summer boots, like men's dancing-boots with legs of curried leather, are decorated with pinked stripes of the thin soft white skin of the dog's neck, forming the so-called "tooth-pattern." Sometimes the toes up to the instep are made of the skin of ringed-seal dyed black, while the instep and legs are of reindeer-leather dyed a cinnamon color. The women of the Maritime Koryak wear such boots also in winter, when at home; or they put them on after finishing their out-door work, or while drying their winter boots on returning home from a trip. But such leather foot-wear, for change, is made larger than the summer leather boots, so that they can be put on over the fur stockings. 291 281 294

I have said before, that, even in winter, women rarely wear a cap, but cover their heads with the hood which is attached to the coat. In summer they also go bare-headed, or in stormy weather they throw the hood of the summer coat over the head. Nowadays many women tie a kerchief on their head in summer, as is customary among Russian women (see Plate xxx, Fig. 2). [177] ●

Men's summer caps are made either of fawn-skins or of the dressed skin of ringed-seal, with the hair on (Fig. 128). The latter material is used chiefly by the Maritime Koryak.

Summer mittens are made of curried reindeer-skin, or of the dressed skin of ringed-seal, or of spotted seal. During the sea-hunting season the Maritime Koryak wear mittens of dog-skin.

The Koryak very rarely wear gloves, which, to judge by the pattern, have been adopted from the neighboring Tungus tribes. The back and the palm of each glove are cut from the same pattern. These parts are placed one upon the other, and the edges, and also the sides of the hand and fingers, stitched together with sinew-thread. The thumb is cut separately, and consists, like the rest of the glove, of two halves of the same shape. It is inserted in an opening left in the glove under the index-finger.

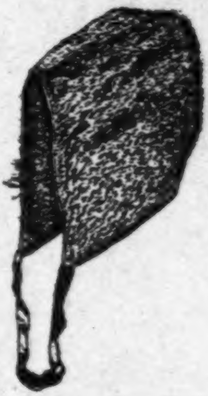

Fig. 128 ([illegible]). Man's Summer Cap.

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING. — Clothing for children up to the age of five or six, and sometimes that of children even a little older, consists, like the women's underwear, of a combination-suit, called kei-kei or maˀlāı-kei ("bifurcated kei"). The children's combination-suit differs from that of women in several respects. It often has a hood sewed on. It has a long slit between the two halves of the trousers, and a fur flap (Koryak, māka) stitched on at the back, over the slit. On the inner side of this flap dry moss and powdered rotten wood are placed. The flap is passed up in front between the legs, and the two straps attached to its ends are tied around the waist. The child's excretions are absorbed 291 854

the head-piece of the fire-drill a small rounded quartz pebble is chosen; and 324
on one side of this a socket for the upper end of the shaft of the drill is 354
made by means of a drill (at present an iron drill).[1]

I have spoken before of the large flat stones which are used, without [352]
any artificial finish, for tables,[2] — one measuring 77 cm. in length and 48 cm. in width; another ([illegible]), 38 cm. in length and 28 cm. in width. It is interesting to compare these stone tables with the unworked sandstones found by Dr. H. Grimm in the excavations of ancient underground dwellings, evidently of the Ainu, on the island of Yezo.[3] Grimm does not suggest the use to which these stones may have been put by the former inhabitants of the underground dwellings.

The similarity of these dwellings, and the remains found in them, to the 174
underground Koryak dwellings and the ancient utensils of the tribe found in excavations and preserved among them as keepsakes, suggests that the Maritime Koryak participate in a type of material culture formerly widespread over a considerable portion of the coasts and islands of the northern part of the Pacific Ocean. The flat sandstones described by Grimm seem to me to have done the same service among the former inhabitants of the underground houses on Yezo as the analogous stones still do among many Koryak, chiefly the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay.

WORK IN IRON. — At present Paren and Kuel, villages of the Maritime 412
Koryak of Penshina Bay, are renowned for their manufacture of iron tools. 177 ●
The knives, axes, and spears of the Paren and Kuel blacksmiths, not only
find a market among the Koryak and Chukchee, but even find their way to 326
Kamchatka and to the neighboring Tungus.

Here two questions arise, — when did the Koryak become acquainted with iron implements, and from whom did they learn the art of the blacksmith?

In Kamchatka, Krasheninnikoff[4] heard stories to the effect that the Kamchadal were familiar with iron implements before they ever met the Russians. According to these stories, the Kamchadal used to get Japanese iron objects by barter from the Kurilians. Of course, this is possible; but there cannot have been any great amount of barter and no regular exchange between these tribes at that period. In this manner iron tools could have come into the hands of the Kamchadal in but very limited quantities, and would have become the property of a few fortunate families only. It seems important to note that while the tribes of northeastern Asia were still in the stone age, not only were nations as highly civilized as the Japanese and Chinese acquainted with iron, but even certain tribes of the Amur region,

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[1] See Part I, Plate VI.

[2] See pp. 569, 608.

[3] See H. Grimm, Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Koropokguru auf Yeso und Bemerkungen über die Shikotan Aino (Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokio, Band V, pp. 369–373).

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 49.

326 and the Yakut, had been working it for a long time. Thus we may readily
● 177 conceive that long before the Koryak and other northern natives met with
the Russians, iron tools had come into the hands of those tribes through a
412 long series of exchanges. Thus, for instance, on the Kolyma tundra I heard members of a northern Yukaghir clan tell, that, previous to the arrival of the Russians, they had had an iron axe, the property of the whole clan, which was in the keeping of "the Old Man," and was carried over the whole tundra whenever there happened to be need anywhere of knocking down or cutting in two a thick stout tree, which it was very hard to do with stone axes. An acquaintance of this kind, or even of a somewhat higher degree, may have existed also among the Koryak. They may have obtained iron objects, on the one hand from a Japanese source,[1] through the Kurilians and Kamchadal;[2] on the other hand, from a Manchurian-Chinese source, through the Tungus. According to historical data, based on reports of the Cossacks who had reached the mouth of the Okhota River in 1652, the Tungus living there were armed with iron and bone weapons, and clad in iron armor.[3] There is still a third source from which, during the pre-Russian period, iron objects may have been derived. I refer to the Yakut who represent the Mongol-Turkish people, who not only knew the metal and the art of forging it, but also the art of smelting iron from iron ores.[4]

Iron armor,[5] which supplanted the older leather or bone armor, or was still in use alongside of them, has, in my opinion, been known to the Koryak prior to their meeting with the Russians.

326 Let us now turn to the question of the beginning of blacksmithing among
174 the Koryak. From which tribe did the Koryak learn to forge iron? To answer this question, too, is not easy. But since only in barter can there be intermediaries between producer and consumer, while in learning a trade

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[1] The Japanese armor found by Bogoras among the Chukchee in the northern tundra must evidently have reached there through pre-Russian commercial exchange (see Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, pp. 54, 164, and Fig. 85).

[2] The Cossacks who were sent from Anadyr in 1696 to conquer Kamchatka found Japanese documents in the Koryak dwellings of North Kamchatka. A little later they discovered, near Tighil, a Japanese vessel that had been wrecked (see Slovtsoff, Historical Survey of Siberia, p. 136). This points to the possibility of occasional but direct intercourse in the past between the Koryak and Japanese.

[3] See Supplement to the Judicial Acts, III, pp. 333, 334.

[4] For data concerning the rôle of the Turkish tribes (to which the Yakut belong) in spreading the knowledge of iron-work in Siberia, see R. Andree, Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern mit Berücksichtigungen prähistorischer Verhältnisse (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 126, 127. Popoff (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1878, p. 461), in referring to the statement (mentioned by me in the text) concerning the iron weapons and armor of the Okhotsk Tungus at their first meeting with the Russians, expresses the opinion that the Okhotsk Tungus had become acquainted with iron objects through the Yakut; but considering the fact that the Yakut are comparatively recent arrivals in the extreme northeast of Siberia, and that the northern Tungus are supposed to have come north prior to the Yakut, from the district of the Amur River, it may be fully admitted that their acquaintance with iron, in one way or another, is more ancient, and derived ultimately from a Manchurian-Chinese source. Even in the most ancient European statements concerning the ancient Manchurians, who are kindred to the Tungus, mention is made of their helmets and cuirasses made of scale-like iron plates fastened to one another with nails, or arranged on a skin foundation (on this question see Schrenck, II, p. 259, and his references to Neuhof and Witsen).

[5] See *Fig.* 98, p. 562; and Plate XXIX, *Fig.* 1.

326 long, narrow, ornamented, and well finished. The spears for every-day use
412 are not ornamented. They are of simple and rough workmanship. Some
spears are made with a ridge in the middle, which is also often met with
on spears from the Amur region (see, Fig. 195).

Knives for special kinds of work are represented in Fig. 144. The woman's knife, *a* (ñau-wal) is of a sickle-shape, its form being an imitation of the ancient flat knife made of slate.[1]

281 The woman's knife has no sheath. It is kept in the work-bag, together
with shavings of skin. With this knife, women cut skins and furs for clothing.[2]
412 The cutting is done on a cutting-board. Koryak women rarely use scissors.
177 Imported broadcloth for the upper coat, and calico for shirts, are also cut
with the knife. Koryak blacksmiths do not manufacture scissors. The large shears shown by Bogoras[3] are the work of Yakut or Amur River blacksmiths. Yakut women cut skin for clothing with such scissors. Nevertheless Koryak women exhibited great joy when we presented them with ordinary narrow iron scissors in return for services rendered, or for submitting to being measured, and immediately pressed them into service.

321 Fig. 144, *b*, represents a knife with a long handle, specially used for
531 carving in bone or wood. However, this knife is also called a belt-knife,
and is worn at the belt in a sheath. Its wooden handle is covered with
322 sheet-brass which is adorned with scratches made with the point of a knife,
and evidently representing a technical ornament. Fig. 144, *c*, represents a straight knife (tami'ñu-wal, "working-knife"), and *d* a curved knife (keñı-wal, "curved knife"), used in carving bone and wood, and in hollowing out spoons, ladles, dippers, plates, and dishes.

326 Fig. 145 represents an iron chisel and an iron bow-drill for work in
wood. The chisel (*a*) has a curved edge for making holes. The handle of
412 the drill (*b*) and the bow are made of bone of whale. A similar bow-drill,
only with a smaller point made of steel, is used also in riveting old kettles, and generally for boring in iron.

401 I did not happen to see a pump-drill in use. It is curious that the
[372] bow-drill is called in the Koryak language mi'lgıtine ("fire-procuring"). This
321 points to the fact that the use of the bow-drill for procuring fire had preceded

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[1] Murdoch (The Point Barrow Eskimo, Fig. 106, p. 153) mentions an ancient large single-edged slate knife of this shape, belonging to the Eskimo, and supposes that it was used specially for cutting food. I am inclined to think that it was a woman's knife for cutting skin. Its shape is quite similar to the woman's iron knife of the Koryak, whose blacksmiths doubtless originally imitated ancient stone models. In Mason's article on the woman's knife of the Eskimo (Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1890, p. 411) are collected types of woman's knives of the Eskimo and certain Indian tribes from various localities. These illustrations show that nearly all — both the stone knives, and those of iron made in imitation of the stone ones — have a crescent-shaped blade, just as in the case of the woman's iron knife of the Koryak. Nearly all knives of which illustrations are given by Mason have handles like those of chopping-knives. Only in three of them (see Plates LIX, LXIV, and LXVIII, Figs. 1, 4, 2) do we see a handle on the side, just as on our woman's knife.

[2] Ornamented woman's knives are represented in Fig. 193.

[3] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 151, *c*, p. 222.

325 The love for silver ornaments is equally strong among the Tungus and
the Yakut; among the latter, however, this passion has weakened of late,
301 under the influence of civilization. They even preferred silver to gold, though
the Yakut well know that gold is the more expensive metal, and though
Yakut silversmiths know how to smelt gold, too. Even the poorest Tungus
women have some silver ornaments on their dresses.

The Koryak, on the contrary, have no particular partiality for silver.
Even the women of wealthy reindeer-breeders do not always possess silver
[517] ornaments. The color of copper or brass is more suited to their taste than
the white color of silver. I remember that in Kamenskoye, when I offered
a Koryak woman the choice between a wide brass ring with a shining shield
and a narrow silver ring, she chose the former. A contrary result was
obtained from the same experiment at another time with a Tungus woman.

The Koryak call silver ñaña-pol̥ou′ntın ("easily selling iron"). This name,
therefore, expresses the superiority of silver over iron. The derivation of the
word for "iron" is unknown. At any rate, it was not borrowed from the Russians.

322 Work in Wood and Bone. — Wood and bone objects, from tiny carvings
up to sledges, are nowadays wrought only by means of the above-described
177 iron tools. For fastening the parts of sledges and of the frames of
skin boats, pegs of wood or iron are not used. Everything is tied with
leather straps; but the Koryak are fond of joining their small chests for
holding tea-dishes, or other objects, with steel nails obtained from the Russians.
Household objects of wood have been described before,[1] and carvings will be
discussed later. The netting-needle, and the vice used instead of iron pincers
for finishing iron objects with a file, are made of wood.

321 In addition to the knife for cutting herring,[2] many other tools are made
of bone, antler, or ivory. A thimble and ring of ivory, which protect the
thumb and index-finger in chipping stone tools and working wood with the
285] knife, have been described.[3] Fig. 150, *a*, shows a bone needle used in
weaving baskets of grass. Fig. 150, *b*, represents a bone tool found by me
172 in excavating an old underground dwelling at the mouth of the Nayakhan River.
412 In shape it looks like an imitation of an iron hammer, but with this difference,
that holes have been made in it for tying it to the handle by means
of small leather straps. What its practical application may have been, is
unknown. It is too small to have served for clubbing seals.[4] It was found
with potsherds; and if its shape has been copied from an iron hammer, then
321 the potsherds must be of very recent origin. Fig. 150, *c*, represents a pair
of ear-rings carved out of walrus-tusk with a knife. In shape these ear-rings
are an imitation of the stone ear-rings referred to before (see p. 610), but
differ from them in having linear ornaments.[5]

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[1] See p. 570. [2] See p. 573. [3] See p. 608. [4] See p. 545.

[5] See also bone lamp (p. 567), stool made of antler (p. 568), spoons (p. 571), fish-cake (p. 573), picks and pestle (pp. 577—579).

The spinning of the thread for weaving from these plant and sinew fibres has not advanced beyond the method of a cobbler preparing his waxen end. The twisting is done with the palms of the hands,[1] and a long thread is obtained by twisting together separate parts. Fig. 154 represents a wooden reel on which is wound the sinew-thread for weaving. Similar skeins are made of the threads of plant-fibres. 293

When a Koryak woman comes into possession of imported flax, hemp, or cotton thread or cord, she uses it by mingling it in her work with home-made material, so that stripes of one and the other material alternate. Sometimes it happens that a Koryak woman purchases linen cloth, unravels it, and twists the ravellings into cord for weaving. 283 177

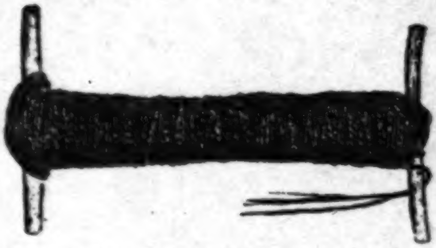

Fig. 154 ([illegible]). Wooden Reel. Length, 29 cm.

Among the Koryak, as among the Alaskan Eskimo, we find coiled and twined basketry; but in the majority of cases the work of the Koryak is better, and their methods are more varied, than those of the Eskimo. 285 415

Fig. 155 represents one of the varieties of coiled baskets. They are children's baskets, made of *Elymus mollis;* but larger-sized baskets of the same shape are used by women for berry-picking. Fig. 156 represents one square inch of Fig. 155, *a*, enlarged. As may be seen, the work is done

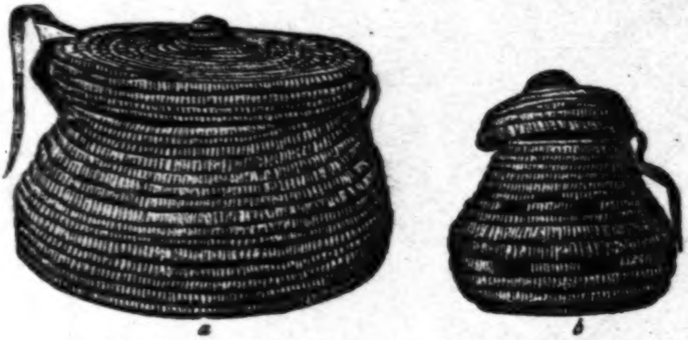

Fig. 155, *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]). Coiled Baskets. Height, 13 cm., 8 cm.

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[1] It is interesting to note that an improved method of twisting thread is employed by the Yakut women, who twist with the palm of the right hand on the bare thigh. The origin of this method is explained by the Yakut woman's dress, the lower part of which consists of three pieces, — short trousers, knee-piece, and boots. In working thread, the Yakut woman takes off the knee-piece of the right leg, and, raising her coat, twists on her bare thigh.

Along the shores of Penshina Bay the ornamentations on cutting-boards frequently consist of figures of steamers or schooners which land from time to time at the settlement. These engravings resemble in every respect those of the Eskimo in their manner of representing schooners and steamers.[1] 532 177

Figs. 195 and 196 represent forms of engravings of foreign origin adopted from the Tungus and other neighbors. Fig. 195, *a–c*, represents specimens of workmanship of Koryak blacksmiths,[2] with ornaments engraved and with inlaid copper and brass. The art of the blacksmith being of recent origin among the Koryak, their decorations on articles of iron are adopted from other tribes. In my opinion, the ornamentations of the belt-knife (*a*), of the "large knife" (*c*),[3] and of the spear (*b*), shown in Fig. 195, came down to the Koryak from the Amur natives through the medium of the Tungus; and the Amur people, in their turn, adopted them from the Chinese. This ornamentation appears as a simplified conventionalization of the simple and combined cocks, which we see in the Amur spear (Fig. 195, *d*).[4] The ornamentation of the wooden handle of the knife *a*, which is inlaid with tin, is evidently adopted from the Yakut, among whom such knife-handles are often found; and the ornamentation represents, as I was told, in a conventional way, the larch-tree. The short handle of the large knife *c* is made of bone of whale.

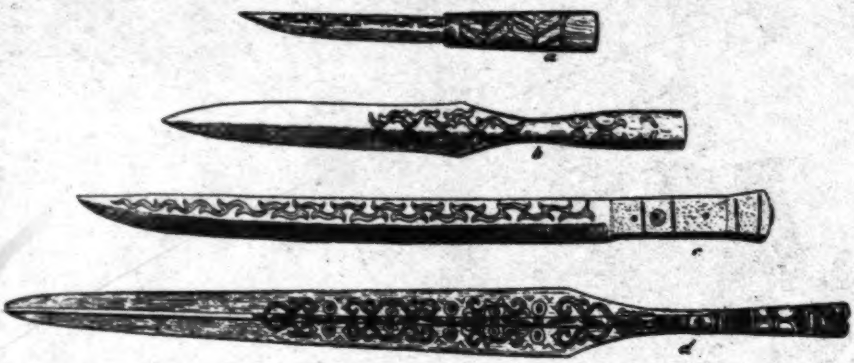

Fig. 195. Knives and Lance-Heads with Engraved Designs. *a* ([illegible]), Koryak Knife (length, 29 cm.); *b* ([illegible]), Koryak Lance-Head (length, 45 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Koryak Knife (length, 60 cm.); *d* ([illegible]), Lance-Head from the Amur River (length, 75 cm.).

The interior part of the ornament of the cutting-board (Fig. 196, *a*) is also of the Amur type. The middle of this board serves for winding embroi- 294 532 177

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[1] See Boas, The Central Eskimo, Plate v, Fig. *f*; Hoffman, Figs 29–31, p. 797. Samples of Koryak cutting-boards with figures of steamers are in the Koryak collection of the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

[2] See p. 611.

[3] See pp. 561, 620.

[4] See Laufer, The Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes.

294 532 177 dered trimmings used for dresses, fur strips for coat-trimming, and other strips for dress-ornamentation. The combination of curved lines in this ornamental engraving is not of Koryak origin; but, instead of the spiral ornament of the Amur tribes, we have here a series of arches, the ends of which meet on one side. The rings with stars on the snuff-box (*c*), were adapted by the artist from a drawing on Russian printed calico. I shall speak more fully of such adaptations further on. It will suffice here to call attention to the perfection of the circles, and the sense of symmetry shown in the outlines of the stars, notwithstanding the fact that the Koryak artists, besides the point of the knife, have no instrument, such as a pair of dividers, for making curved lines.

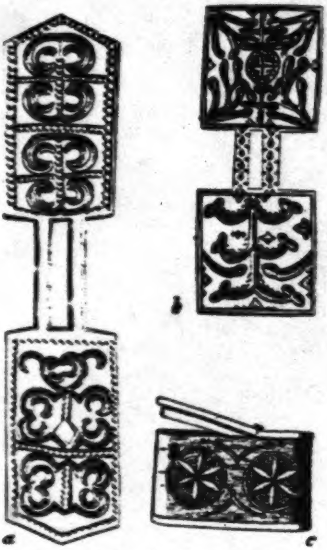

Fig. 196. *a* ([illegible]), *b* ([illegible]), Cutting-Boards (length, 43 cm., 21.5 cm.); *c* ([illegible]), Birch-Bark Box (height, 5.5 cm.).

I could get no explanations as to the fantastic ornamental engravings of Fig. 196, *b*, which are far from being symmetrical; but there is no doubt that we have to do here with mixed elements of primitive geometric ornamentation and conventional plant-forms, possibly the stone-pine.

531 294 Ornamentation of Dress. — In the ornamentation of clothing and fur rugs, we see a combination of different influences, similar to that which we observe in the case of engravings on cutting-boards, boxes, and implements. We find here both the most primitive ornaments — consisting of dots, dashes, and rings — and other geometrical patterns in the shape of triangles, rhombi, and squares. Further, there is a technical style of ornamentation, representing nettings, for instance; animal ornamentation, consisting of a realistic representation of individual animals and human beings, or of groups of them, of a pictographic nature; and, finally, there is the conventionalized plant-ornament. The last kind of ornamentation I consider the latest acquisition adopted from the Russians.

[462] While the carvings and engravings are the art of man, the ornamentation of clothing and rugs is the result of the artistic efforts of woman. The simplest dress-decoration consists in the binding of skin dresses with fur, or in the trimming of fur clothing with fur of a better kind than that of the clothing, or of a different color, and in the use of white, black, and red dyed skin, either with the hair removed or placed flesh side outward, the hair which is on the inside of the coat being shorn.

531 use the designs employed in the ornamentation of the common dress, which have undoubtedly been adopted from the Russians or the Tungus, merely for beauty, without reference to their meaning.

Although, in the ornamentation of the common dress, we meet with ancient designs which we have seen on funeral clothes, yet we frequently find, also, realistic representations of men and animals, combinations of curved lines, and conventionalized plants. The realistic reproductions of animals in dress-ornamentation may have developed as a result of the imitation by women, in their designs, of the objects produced by men in their sculptural art. Combinations of curved lines and conventionalized animals, such as we have seen on knives and spears, were adopted, in my opinion, from the Amur through the medium of the Tungus; while the conventionalized plants, as we shall see further on, were copied from the designs on the calico prints imported by Russian merchants. Some woman referred to the Russo-Koryak half-breed Fletcher[1] as the author of certain patterns. These were mostly figures representing conventionalized plants, copied from designs on imported calico or cloth. The woman using them knows that the design represents plants and leaves, but personally I know of no case where a woman would imitate plants which grow naturally before her eyes.

531
177 It is claimed that, among advanced agricultural tribes, the plant-ornament appears in decorative art after the animal-ornament. I should add, however, that, as regards the plant in Fig. 204, (*3*), or that on the rug in Fig. 239, I was told that it represents the flower of the dog-brier, which grows in abundance in the valleys of the Koryak rivers. One Koryak even told me that some women copied the figures for the leather patterns from leaves and flowers of living plants. I admit the possibility of this, although personally I have not met such women. As the habit of observation on the part of man when on his hunting expeditions furnishes him with material for carvings and engravings, so does the observation of woman when gathering berries, herbs, and roots, supply her with material for designs.

How women copy figures from drawings on imported calico prints and other tissues is shown in Fig. 203, representing specimens which I obtained from a girl in Kamenskoye. Fig. 203, *a*, represents a conventionalized plant-ornament as it appeared on a piece of Russian calico which I obtained from the woman; *b*, the pattern, is a copy reproduced by the woman from *a*. The pattern is cut out of a piece of the thick skin of a thong-seal. We can see that the copy is rather crude. It shows a freehand, rough silhouette. This design was used in cutting out the patterns from the dark fur of the fawn in the following manner: the pattern is put on the obverse side of the fur, and by means of a bone knife its outline is drawn on the skin (some women even use Russian pencils for that purpose), and the figure is then cut out with the woman's knife, following the outline. Fig. 203, *c*, shows how the conventionalized plant is sewed into the strip of white fur of a young reindeer, in place of the figures, which were cut out in the described manner by means of the pattern (*b*).

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[1] See p. 665.

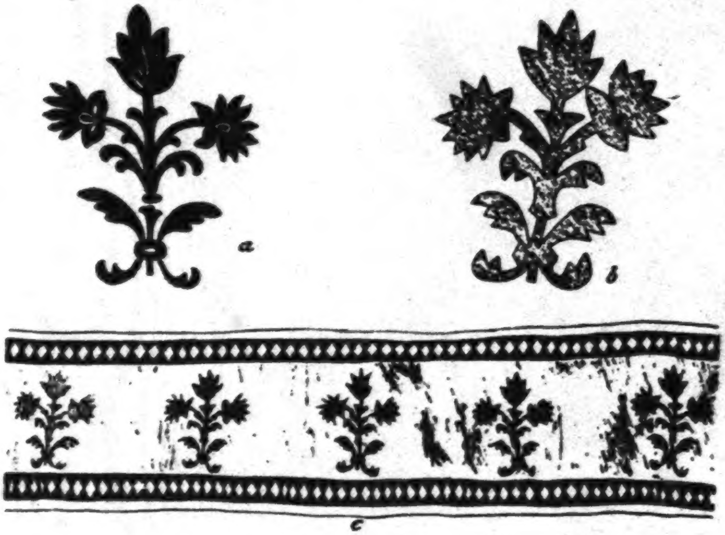

Fig. 203, *a* ([illegible]), Calico Pattern for Plant-Design *b*; *b*, A Copy of the Pattern; *c*, Border of Coat showing Application of Plant-Design.

Fig. 204 represents a piece of a fur strip for trimming the bottom of an overcoat. The ornamental figures are a mixture of ancient animal and plant ornaments. One figure represents a dog running, with its tail turned upward and its tongue hanging out. The other figure represents the silhouette of a horse with a saddle, and a pack behind the saddle. In this

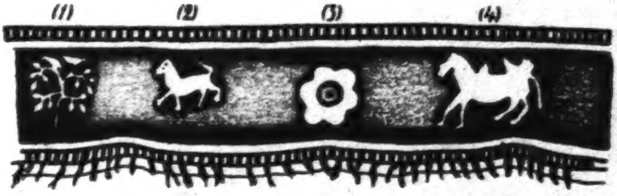

Fig. 204 ([illegible]). Skin-Mosaic Border of Coat. Width, 21 cm.

531 177 silhouette it is very easy to recognize the horse. The use of the figure of a strange animal as a subject of decoration testifies to the power of observation of the Koryak woman. Among the plant-figures, one represents a flower, the other a bush with two birds sitting on it.

Later on, strips for trimming the bottoms of coats will be fully discussed. The middle part of many of these strips is embroidered with colored thread, in imitation of Russian designs. The cross in Fig. 211, in cotton thread, seems to have been adopted from Russian designs; while in Fig. 212 the entire strip, embroidered in silk, represents conventionalized plants.

Where fur mosaic occurs in funeral garments, we find only square, diagonal, rhomb, or triangular checker-work, or narrow parallel strips in various arrangements, but no realistic figures. Thus it will be seen that all the characteristic ornamentation of funeral dresses consists of geometric designs.

531 *Arrangement of Designs.* — In treating of the arrangement of designs, three important points of view must be borne in mind, — the sequence of strips making up ornamental borders, the rhythmic repetition of motives recurring these strips, and their arrangement on the garments.

As regards the composition of borders from single strips, it would seem that the fundamental trait of arrangement consists in the attempt to set off a well-marked middle decorated stripe, which is accompanied by wider or narrower borders. Examples of such borders are fully discussed in the following pages. The arrangement differs somewhat, according to the technique applied. Whenever the upper and lower borders of the ornamental strip are made of slit-embroidery, forms like those shown in Figs. 206–208 and 220–223 are found. Borders made of appliqué-work are very common, and these consist almost always of white triangles on a black or red background, as shown in Figs. 208, 212, and 216. Square checker-work in this arrangement is shown in Figs. 205, 220, and 223. Triangular or square checker-work is also made in skin mosaic, as illustrated in Fig. 209. The arrangement of the strips shows so much variation, however, that it is difficult to give any generalized description. The same kind of arrangement has also been applied in modern borders, with the only difference that for the ornamental middle row a strip of yarn or silk embroidery has been substituted.

The arrangement of stripes illustrated in Figs. 212 and 216, *a*, is found in many coats with embroidery ($\frac{70}{3536}$, $\frac{70}{3212}$, $\frac{70}{3744}$): $\frac{70}{3537}$ is also laid out on the same plan, except that under the lower row of white appliquéed hanging triangles a row of checker-work is repeated. Sometimes, in place of the rhomboid checker-work, square checker-work is found. In one specimen ($\frac{70}{3604}$) the upper checkered strip is missing. In still another specimen ($\frac{70}{3605}$) only the central embroidery with the adjoining appliqué strips of triangles are retained. In another one ($\frac{70}{3536}$) we find, in place of the upper strip of checker-work, a single row of alternate black and white squares, while in all

thread and hair of reindeer and other animals. The zigzags do not form 531
sharp angles, but a wavy figure. It is of interest to note that some of the 292
lines on the hood are embroidered with glass beads, which are not found in [17]
ancient ornaments, being an article with which the Koryak became familiar through the Russians or the Tungus. The women very conservatively avoid using beads in ornamenting articles having any relation to the cult. The dark, wide, vertical strips set into the white fur on the front part of the funeral coat are pieces of fur of a young seal dyed red. The tassels of hair under the embroidery are dyed the same color. The dark vertical stripes appear to be the inner side of the skin of reindeer. On the inside of the coat the reindeer-hair cut short may be seen. The flesh side of the skin is dyed red, — in some cases light red, in most cases very dark. These vertical stripes are set with nine rows of tassels (the middle one with twelve), partly made of the hair of young seal, partly (on the middle stripes) made of crewel. Under the strips of embroidery, fringe consisting of red tassels and caught-in strips is sewed on. Along the strip of embroidery just over the lowest row of vertical dark stripes, the fringe consists of alternate red and blue parts, which do not correspond to the lower vertical strips. The tassels under the lowest vertical strip are so arranged that there are five under the broader middle strip, while there are three under each of the four narrower strips which are found on each side of the front of the coat. In addition, there are three in the middle of each white space. Under the second stripe of embroidery running around the sleeve, under the shoulder, the tassels are red and light green. The embroidery between the single stripes on the front consists of black and white checkers, and rectangles consisting of three stripes, in which either the outer stripes are of a reddish to yellowish tinge, and the inner some bluish or violet color, or *vice versâ*. There does not seem to be

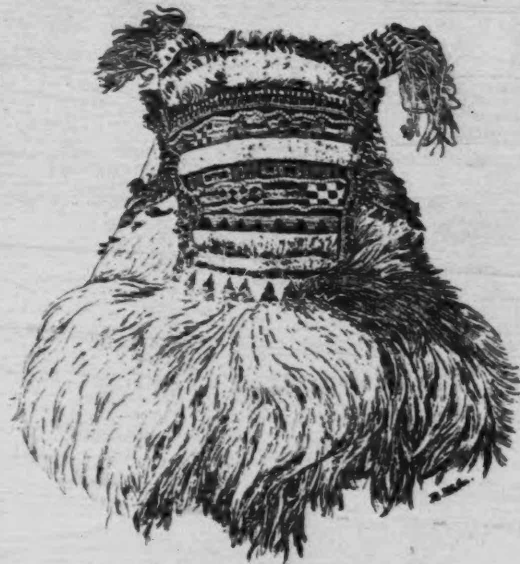

Fig. 226 ($\frac{70}{3125}$). Hood of Man's Funeral Coat.

285 531 black. This stitch is identical with the stitch employed in the bottoms of baskets. A fourth method is applied in a few Kamchadal baskets; horizontal bands being made by overlaying an ordinary whipped coil with grass dyed red, or with red, blue, or black strips of cloth. This is held in place by passing every third or fourth stitch over the strip, which is thus woven on the coil (see Fig. 233). Various forms of checker-work, zigzag bands, and rectangles, are the principal figures that are found. The covers of round baskets often bear designs forming rosettes. In one basket Fig. 230, *b*), figures are found which evidently represent human beings.

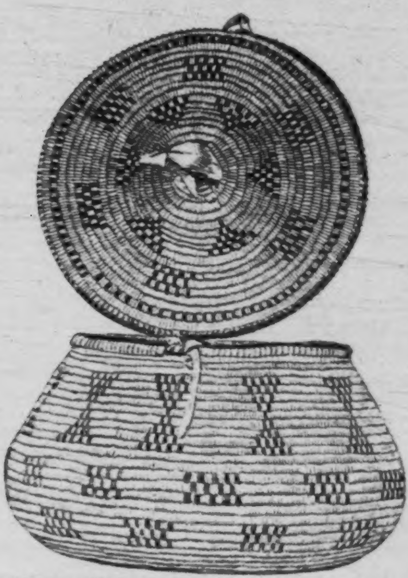

Fig. 231 (70/1822). Coiled Basket with Designs made in Nettle-Fibre. Maritime Koryak, North Kamchatka. Greatest diameter, 22.5 cm.

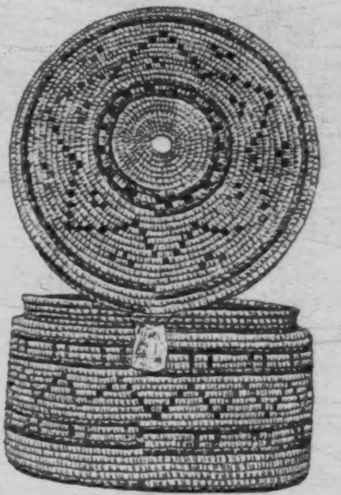

Fig. 232 (70/2868). Coiled Basket. Maritime Koryak, North Kamchatka. Diameter, 17.5 cm.

281 531 ● 177 [439] DECORATION OF RUGS MADE OF REINDEER-SKINS. — It is doubtful whether this art was developed among the Koryak women previous to their contact with the Russians. At present it has developed into a domestic industry. Koryak fur rugs are carried by traders far and wide. They may be seen on the walls or floors and among the furniture of Russians living at Petropavlovsk, Okhotsk, Yakutsk, and Vladivostok. In Irkutsk their price is ten times as high as at home. Among the rich Yakut, Koryak rugs of fine workmanship, made of skins of young reindeer, sometimes take the place of the crude rugs of Yakut production made of cow or horse hides.

In every village of Maritime Koryak on Penshina Bay, I found the women 281 at work on rugs during the winter, but only once did I see a rug used by the Koryak themselves as an ornament in the house. It covered the platform 531 which served as a sleeping-place for guests. Evidently this industry has 177 developed as a result of Russian demand. To a great extent this is also true of embroidered coats. Every Russian or Yakut merchant, or official in the Maritime or Yakut provinces, if he has to travel on private or official business, buys an embroidered coat of reindeer-skins of Koryak manufacture. It is seldom that the Koryak themselves wear embroidered coats. They are worn only by Koryak traders. Women wear embroidered dresses more frequently than men. I speak here of every-day clothing, and not of festival, dancing, or funeral garments, which are always embroidered. The making of rugs has principally developed among the Koryak of [285] [463] Penshina Bay. They find competitors, especially in silk embroideries, among the Russianized Koryak women of the Yamsk settlement. The Russianized Yukaghir and Chuvantzy women on the Anadyr River and on the lower course of the Kolyma River also enjoy quite a reputation for their art of ornamenting fur dresses and making rugs. The Russianized native women of the Kolyma, however, are less skilful than those of the Anadyr.

Fig. 233 ([illegible]). Kamchadal Coiled Basket. Diameter, 15 cm.

In decorating fur rugs, colored thread and silk or bead embroideries are not used. Small pieces of the white and of the black fur of young reindeer sewed together are the only material used for the ornamentation. The comparatively cheap fur of young reindeer — with its thick, soft, and glossy hair — matches in beauty the expensive furs, and is less valuable only on account of its lack of durability, since the hair usually falls out soon, as in dresses of reindeer-skin. Rugs, however, last longer. Since the entire beauty of a rug is in its ornamentation, it is almost wholly made up of the pieces of white and of black fur which form the ornamental figures. A Koryak girl [437] will work all winter on a rug, if it is a large one, in order to exchange it with a merchant for cloth, calico, ornaments, or food-products. The rugs are either square or of elongated rectangular form. Their length varies from one metre to three metres. As in dress-decoration, the regular designs are geometrical forms, animals, conventionalized plants, or a mixture of all these forms.

The rugs here illustrated were made in the villages of Paren, Kuel, Mikino, and Kamenskoye.

9 *j*, 10 *k*, and in the tendency to alternate angular and round designs in rows 5 and 7; in the exclusive use of round designs in rows 4 and 8; and in the repetition of angular designs in every fourth place in rows 1, 3, 9, 11. Attention may also be called to the occurrence of the curvilinear plant-design in the two lowest rows, which do not appear in other parts of the rug. It may also be noticed that there is a tendency, which may be observed in other specimens as well, to repeat the same design in white on a black background, offsetting the same design in dark on a white background. Thus 6 *d* must be considered equivalent to 4 *h* and 8 *h* and to 2 *j* and 10 *j*; and the black circles 6 *h* and 2 *d* and 10 *d* are equivalent to the white circles on a dark background. On the whole, the impression conveyed by the rug is that of a definitely planned repetition of designs, without, however, attaining to such unity of plan as would result in a clear pattern.

In certain respects another rug ($\frac{70}{5598}$) is similar to the one just described. It also consists of a large checker-work, alternate squares of which consist of small checker-work. Here we find on the dark fields a single conventionalized curved leaf; but a different design is shown in the top row and in the bottom row, consisting of a four-pointed star, the centre of which is a four-leaved flower from which branches extend, dividing at their ends into two leaves. The same design is repeated on the extreme right and left field of the second row from the bottom. This similarity of corresponding fields occurs in a number of rugs.

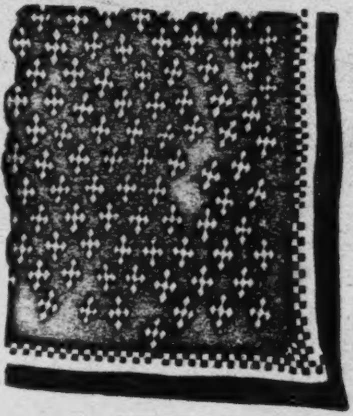

Fig. 235 ([illegible]). Fur Rug. Length of each rhomb, 5 cm.

Fig. 235 represents part of a rug, the ornamentation of which consists of crosses made up of white rhombi on a black background. This cross, in my opinion, was adopted from Russian designs. The borders of the rug are trimmed with three strips of fur, — the innermost one covered with the checker-ornament; the second, of solid white color; and the third, black. In one part of the rug the rhombi are set into solid skin. This portion of the rug is somewhat irregular. In other parts the pattern is made up of long strips of dark skin alternating with strips of mosaic work consisting of checkered rhombi and of large rhombi of dark skin. In this part of the rug the arrangement of the rhombi in the direction parallel to the long strips is quite regular, while the arrangement in the direction of the other diagonal is not so regular.

831 Siberia. It is difficult to find a girl that has reached or even approached
171 the age of sexual maturity that is innocent; and the attitude of married women to conjugal fidelity is fully characterized by the proverb, "Woman is not a loaf, can't be eaten by one (man)" (Баба не калачъ, одинъ не съѣшь). On the Kolyma, where often several families live together in one house, it is difficult to say who is whose wife. Likewise, cases of incestuous cohabitation of the nearest blood-relations are nowhere more frequent than here.

In bringing about the degeneration and final extinction of many Russianized Siberian tribes, sexual dissoluteness, combined with the spread of syphilis, have played by no means the least important rôle.

831 I have here expatiated upon the unchastity of the Russian settlers and Russianized natives of the extreme northeast of Siberia, in order to show
177 that the special position which the Koryak occupy among the neighboring tribes regarding the interrelation of the sexes cannot be due to the influence of the morals of the few representatives of a civilized people who have settled among them. On the contrary, the Koryak have waged an active struggle against the Russian influence which threatened to destroy their family life.[1]

To what, then, is due the fact that the sexual relations of the Koryak stand, according to our notions, above those of the tribes which are related to them by descent, — tribes that live under the same economic conditions, and under the influence of the same external circumstances? The explanation lies probably in the peculiar mental attitude of the Koryak.

836 POSITION OF GIRLS PRIOR TO MARRIAGE. — Girls, before marriage, must
626 have no intercourse with men. This rule is pretty strictly observed by Koryak girls. Young men will not "serve"[2] for a dissolute girl. He who would undertake to serve for such a girl would expose himself to ridicule on the part of the other youths. On the other hand, the girl's father and elder brothers "are angry," the Koryak say, if they notice that their daughter or sister is intimate with young men. All investigators familiar with the life of primitive tribes know that the anger of the elders has more influence upon the conduct of the younger members of a family than preaching in the higher classes or blows in the lower classes of civilized nations, for the wrath of the elders may do harm to those against whom it is directed.

In two myths[3] we have characteristic episodes telling how a girl's brothers forced a young man to marry her when she complained that the young man had touched her or had addressed to her a request to give him water to drink.

836
847 Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, it is considered shameful, and her parents scold her. She goes off into the wilderness to be deliv-

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[1] See Chapter XIV.

[2] See p. 739.

[3] See Part 1, pp. 270, 273.

the present Chukchee irkaˀla'ul, Koryak "transformed men" contracted marriage 588 with men, or, when there was another real wife, would be kept as concubines, and lived with the so-called husband in improper intimacy. This, of course, cannot be treated as a normal institution of marriage. Such cases were few in number. Bogoras states that among three thousand Kolyma Chukchee he registered five cases of men who were believed to be transformed into women; but of these, only two were "married" to other men.[1] I think abnormal 838 sexual relations have developed under the influence of the ideas concerning 771 shamanistic power, which the "metamorphosed" men obtain from the spirits at whose bidding and with whose help the change of sex is accomplished. These beliefs have found fertile soil in individuals of abnormal physical and psychical development. With the decadence of shamanism among the [177] Koryak, and the Russianization of the Kamchadal, these practices have disappeared in both tribes.

POLYANDRY. — I had occasion to observe among the Reindeer Chukchee 595 of the Kolyma tundra that they would exchange wives for the night, or that 837 the wife would be placed at the disposal of the transient guest, while the husband would go off to his herd. Mr. Bogoras, who has studied this question more closely, considers this wife-exchange among the Chukchee as a 171 form of group-marriage. The right of two men to each other's wife is stipulated by the mutual agreement of the husbands.[2] This marriage-union is contracted mainly among kinsmen (excepting brothers), such as cousins and second-cousins. A union like this may be contracted among unrelated men as well. Not infrequently this contract is entered into by a married man and a bachelor, who thus pledges his future wife to his friend. Each Chukchee may contract such a union with several persons, who are called "friends in wives." The result of such a union is a polygynic-polyandric group-marriage. The families participating in such a marriage-union retain, nevertheless, their own economic independence, and the children are considered as belonging to the head of the family in which they are born.

In Steller's[3] description of Kamchatka we find a passage in which it is stated that friends sometimes agree to exchange wives. It is to be regretted that Steller gives no detailed information concerning the character of such agreements.

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak are jealous beyond measure, and may kill their wives on the mere suspicion of faithlessness.[4] On the other hand, he compares the Maritime Koryak with the Chukchee, and alleges that among them the host's wives and daughters are given over to

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[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 31.

[2] For the same marriage-customs among the western Eskimo, see Nelson, p. 292.

[3] See Steller, p. 347.

[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 201.

174 the master to provide them with food and with skins for clothes. Able herdsmen
556 would receive reindeer as presents from the master. In the further
565 progress of these relations, the rich possessors of herds might have consolidated into an hereditary ruling class. This was prevented solely by the low
[558] character of the reindeer-culture. Frequent reindeer-pests, against which these primitive reindeer-breeders were and still are powerless, suddenly transformed rich herdsmen into beggars.

565 The life of the masters was in no way different from the life of the
poor herdsmen. The latter were not considered a lower class. Good herdsmen
511 could expect not only to marry the master's daughter, as they do up to the
174 present time, but to receive from the master a part of his herd. In one myth[1] we are told that Big-Raven handed over to his son-in-law the larger half of his herd, the latter having proved himself a good herdsman. In another tale Big-Raven presents a part of his herd to the herdsman simply on account of his being a faithful worker.[2]

567 The Koryak say that in ancient times the rich and the strong men held
174 slaves. These remained at home, and were employed for different kinds of housework, and under the supervision of the women. It is difficult to ascertain in how far they were the property of the conquerors, and whether they could be bought and sold. In my opinion, slavery as a regulated institution could hardly have existed to any great extent; for, as intimated above, the Koryak had little faith in their captives, and generally put them to death, fearing their vengeance.

In this connection, a myth in which it is related that parents gave to their married daughter one woman for cooking and one for sewing,[3] is of interest. These women, of course, could not have been hired servants in the modern sense, but must have been slaves with whom the masters could do as they pleased.

178 Present Forms of Social Life. — I have already referred to the deteriorating influence which contact with the Russians has had on the development of the social relations of the Koryak. Relative security, with the cessation of wars and the waning of superstitions, weakened or eliminated the anti-social tendency towards the isolation of individual families. Such customs as the guarding of the family hearth against contact with objects belonging to other families, are now, under Russian influence, either but partly observed or they have been completely abandoned.

778 In the settlement Itkana, for instance, the only time when the family fire
177 cannot be taken to another house is while fishing is going on, as this might turn the luck of the fishermen; but it may be carried in other seasons of the year. Kettles and teapots, on the other hand, are carried to other houses and back again at any season.

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[1] See Part I, p. 269.

[2] Ibid., p. 268.

[3] Ibid., p. 209, No. 52.

In Kuel the only season when fire, as well as the drum, cannot be taken 177 to another house, is the winter, 778 obviously for the reason that the fire and the drum as family protectors are most needed in winter, when the kalau most frequently visit human habitations. The Reindeer Koryak on the Tı́lqai have abandoned all taboos referring to the fire and to the drum. The Reindeer Koryak on the Palpal have no interdict against taking the drum to another house; the fire, however, they allow to be carried to the houses of relatives only. On the Taigonos, ordinary fire may be taken to another house, but not the sacred fire obtained by drilling.

The skin boat, in all non-Russianized villages, still forms part of the 778 family cult, and it can belong to but one family.[1] The sacrificial grass and 596 the alder-branches which are hung on the frame of the skin boat when it is put away for the winter, must not be taken to another house.[2] In spring, when the seal-skin cover is again put on the boat-frame, and the skin boat is made ready for the sea, the possessor of the boat burns the sacrificial grass and the branches at his hearth.

Russian influence has, on the other hand, also hampered the development 619 of some social factors, or has given them a new direction. Owing to 177 increased security, the tendency to form unions between settlements, camps, and other groups, for the purpose of protection against enemies, has disappeared. 648

In the concluding chapter I shall give a short history of the conquest and final subjection of the Koryak by the Russians. Here I will speak of the 621 present social standing of the so-called "elders" (Russian, starosta [староста]). The obligations of the non-Russianized Koryak to the Russian Administration consist in the payment of a tribute called yasak, and in free transportation given by them to Russian officials. Mail also used to be carried without pay, but recently the Government has fixed a fee for its transportation. To enforce the duties imposed on the natives, men responsible for them had to be appointed. For this purpose the Koryak were divided into "clans" (Russian, ro'dy [роды, *sing.* родъ]).[3] These were purely territorial groups, lacking the ties of common origin: and the name "clans" given to them is quite artificial. For instance, some settlement of the Maritime Koryak, or a group of Reindeer Koryak camping within the limits of a certain locality, were called clans. At the present time these clans have ceased to be even territorial groups; for, since the lists of families belonging to this or that group were first compiled, many families have moved to another settlement or migrated to another locality. The officials mistook the loose social structure of the Koryak for a fully developed social organization, like that of other Siberian peoples (the Yakut or Tungus, for instance), whose elders were elected by the members of the clan or occupied hereditary positions. The territorial groups of the

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[1] See Part I, p. 41; p. 747. [2] See Part I, p. 78; and Plate VII, Fig. 1, opp. p. 80. [3] See pp. 433—443

648 Koryak consisted of families bound together by ties of blood or marriage or
621 by economic relations, — the poor and weak were vassals of the rich and
strong, — but these ties were based only in part on consanguinity; and the
elders, elected as directed by the Russian Government, were not the natural
heads of their communities. The representative principle itself has been
648 accepted very superficially. Among the Maritime Koryak a few old men of
the settlement meet, and, if any one points out a man of executive ability,
622 the others give him their support. The results of these elections are communicated
623 to the chief of the district, either directly or through the Cossacks.
The district chief reports to the Governor of the Maritime Province residing
in Vladivostok, who confirms the elder in his office. The elder generally
remains in office for a number of years, and then resigns. Among the
556] Reindeer Koryak these so-called "elections" of elders are still simpler. The
elder is always one of the richest men, and is elected according to the instructions
of the old men, possessors of herds, who decide the matter at a meeting.

648 The elder gathers the yasak, and delivers it at the Russian headquarters;
he supervises the delivery of dogs by the families in his district, and superintends
622 the people during the passing of Cossacks or the mail, and the
visits of the officials, doctor, or minister; and he divides among the inhabitants
of the settlement the pay for the transportation of mails. Those Koryak who
live away from the main route have no mail to transport, and but seldom
furnish free dog or reindeer sledges for the officials.

The elders of the Reindeer Koryak often simplify the fulfilment of the duties above enumerated. Possessing great numbers of reindeer, they furnish their own animals for the transportation of officials, and frequently pay out in their own fur or reindeer-skins the yasak for the entire group. The Taigonos elder, however, exacts the yasak from the members of his group.

622 During the summer, when communication with the Russians is temporarily
suspended, the functions of elders also come to an end, for in no other phase
626 of the family or social life are the elders of any account. Quarrels within
the family do not spread beyond its limits, and friction between strangers is
checked in one way or another by the parties concerned, without the interference
of a recognized authoritative power.

626 Custom and religious taboos regulate the mutual relations of individuals
and families. Frequently the opinions of old men exert a moral pressure on
177 the conduct of the interested parties. All this does not, of course, exclude
occasional violence on the part of the stronger man. On the whole, however,
the general softening of manners, under the influence of Russian proximity,
and possibly to a certain extent the weakening pulse of the primitive vital
energy, have of late rendered violence a rare phenomenon.

22 It must, I think, be admitted that the imposed institution of elders is
77 not devoid of all importance; for, though in a limited degree, it leads to the

practice of the principle of representation, and develops to some extent the 622 authority of representative persons. In Itkana, for instance, the elder, besides 177 paying the yasak of the "clan," makes purchases of flour, powder, and other articles in the official stores, and divides them among the families, whose faith in his impartiality is implicit.

I settled with individual drivers for the transportation of freight or of 622 myself and my associates; but whenever a greater number of sledges was 177 required, I always resorted to the elder of the settlement, who directed me 626 to the men willing to be hired. The details were arranged with the men individually. Once when I had hired skin boats in Penshina Bay, I handed over to the elder the entire pay, consisting of bricks of tea, and he divided them among the owners of the boats and the oarsmen. On one occasion I saw an elder in the Paren settlement take by force the dogs of an old man for the transportation of Cossacks. This quarrelsome old man was dissatisfied with his share of the pay for the transportation of mail allotted to him by the elder, and refused to furnish dogs, as required by the free transportation obligation; whereupon the elder untied by force two dogs of his pack, and harnessed them to one of the sledges. Of course, he could not have done this if the other members of the settlement had not been on his side. On various occasions the elders complained to me of the disobedience of the people. The elder of the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula, whose [556] personality and riches in reindeer had made him very influential, expressed to me his wish that the Czar might allow lazy herdsmen to be punished. He claimed that young men nowadays were worth nothing. This shows that the elder himself saw the source of his power in the Russian Government, and not in the customs of his people. Russian laws regarding the natives of Siberia, by the way, do authorize the elders to inflict punishment for trivial offences. Of course, the elder did not know this, and, had he known it, could not have acted according to this law, it being opposed to the usages of the Koryak.

In reference to food, Russian influence shows itself in favor of individu- 421 alistic tendencies as against the tendencies of primitive communism in this matter. 177

In ancient traditions the ideal hunter is represented as follows. He heaps the results of the chase on the shore, and bids the inhabitants of the settlement 224 divide them among themselves, and he takes for himself only what is left. He sits at a distance and watches how his catch is divided.[1] At the present time this principle is followed to a certain extent in hunting the whale, and even the white whale.[2] When their meat is divided, the entire settlement is invited. In regard to the white whale, however, this custom is not everywhere observed. I think that in reference to the products of hunting and fishing, indications of the principle of work could from the earliest times be

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[1] See, for instance, Part I, Tale 94, p. 275.

[2] See Part I, p. 56.

living apart. In connection with the separation of brothers, the custom of 177
minority succession has become established. The mother, the aged father, 592
and the unmarried sisters, remain with the younger brother, who also retains 596
the house, all family protectors and amulets, and the boat. The reindeer of the remaining members of the family are under his general supervision.

Vendetta. — Blood-revenge does not seem to occur at present. This 628
is one of the late results of Russian influence, for the archives record cases 177
of blood-vengeance reported by district officials to the Province Administration up to very recent times. The disappearance of this custom, however, must be ascribed solely to the cultural influence of Russian manners, and not to the stringency of the Russian laws.

The Administration is powerless to enforce respect for the Russian laws in the desolate tundras. In distant localities beyond the easy reach of Russian settlers, murders in the name of revenge for blood or insult probably still continue to occur.

With the Koryak, as with all primitive peoples, the practice of taking blood-revenge has arisen as a re-action to lawless violence. Within certain limits this object has been attained; but no sooner did one murder occurred than it would be followed by an entire series of other murders, and the feud between two family groups would not infrequently be kept alive through several generations.

The duty of avenging the murder of a relative fell upon the male members of the consanguineous group. According to the accounts of the Koryak, the immediate avengers were the brothers; then followed cousins, nephews, and the more remote relatives on the father's or mother's side. In case there were no brothers, the father or uncle, unless impeded by age, would take their place. On the whole, however, vengeance for blood was considered by the Koryak to be the duty of all blood-relatives, and not of single individuals. A consanguineous group consisting of one or several families was also jointly responsible for a murder committed by one of its members, and in so far must be regarded as one juridical personality. We know that the old men often attempted to check the spread of blood-revenge. For this purpose, ransom was resorted to. The Reindeer people would give reindeer to the family of the victim; while the ransom of the Maritime people would consist of skins, embroidered clothes, arms, and other articles.

In one of his reports to the Governor in 1885, the chief of the Gishiga district refers to one case of murder committed at a fair on the Palpal. The relatives of the murderer entered into negotiations with the relatives of the victim in regard to a ransom; but when the latter proved too exacting, the former cut short the negotations, hurriedly broke camp under cover of night, and, accompanied by distant relatives, migrated northward, leaving the family of the victim free to act in accordance with custom. It is further

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stated in the report, that on the following day the family of the victim started out in pursuit of the offenders. Here the report of the case ends.

In blood-revenge the Koryak did not insist on the punishment of the culprit himself. Any one or a number of his relatives might fall in his stead, blood for blood being the only principle followed. The interpretation of the usage of revenge is corroborated by the circumstances under which reconciliation is occasionally effected between the family of the culprit and that of the victim. The family of the former cedes to the family of the latter a young man as a son-in-law, or a girl as a daughter-in-law. The essential element in this method of reconciliation is obviously, not the ceding of a member of the family in compensation for the murderer's victim, but the fact that through these marriages ties of affinity are established between the hostile families, in consequence of which the blood-revenge lapses, for no compensation is required for the murder of a relative. Murder within the family is the shedding of one's own blood; vengeance here would mean perpetual bloodshed. I was told that in the past, murders of vicious, cruel, or tiresome people remained unpunished. Even when strangers would kill a member of the group whose conduct was anti-social or otherwise objectionable, relatives would not seek compensation for him.

Cases have occurred where relatives of the murderer, in order to escape vengeance, have abandoned him to his fate at the hands of the avenger. On the Taigonos Peninsula I met a Koryak named Xoti'to, whose father had come from the Oklan River. His father's brother killed, in a quarrel, a rich and influential Koryak; and his father, in order to prevent the victim's family from taking vengeance, killed the culprit with his own hands. Even after this he did not feel safe, and finally migrated with his family and herds to the Taigonos Peninsula. On the same peninsula I met another fugitive from the Opuka River who had killed his friend, a herdsman. His flight was successful: for the relatives of the victim were poor people, who could not pursue him for a long distance. This murder was not avenged.

The incidents recorded in some of the myths are interesting, in that they show that even in ancient times the old men strove to check the feuds of the younger people. Thus it is told that Big-Raven conceals from his son the fact that their relatives were killed by the neighboring Chukchee, fearing that this revelation might lead to vengeance.[1] The son, having learned of the truth, goes to the neighbors at night, and, finding their elder son asleep, decapitates him. On the following day, the Chukchee come to Big-Raven's house, and say, "You have not taught your son not to kill people. Now come out: we will kill you all." Hearing this, Big-Raven turns to his elder son, and says, "You did not mind me. Go out alone. Let them kill you first, then perhaps they will spare the others."

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[1] See Part I, p. 137, No. 6.

In another myth[1] Big-Raven's elder son, Eme′mqut, bids his younger brother Big-Light to bring back to life a girl of the kamak whom he had killed, that they might live in peace with their neighbors. 628 177

A terrible case of blood-revenge is narrated in the district chief's report to the Governor, of Dec. 31, 1882.[2] An Alutor had killed another while sharing the catch of a seal-hunt. With the help of relatives and friends, the culprit succeeded in taking such elaborate precautions for his personal safety, that the attempts of the hostile group to avenge themselves repeatedly failed. At last the relatives of the victim succeeded, under cover of darkness, in creeping up to the house of the murderer. They barricaded the entrance and set fire to the house. The entire family of the culprit and one strange woman perished in the flames. This cruel procedure was not considered excessive by the Koryak. Only the relatives of the strange woman considered vengeance justifiable, and demanded a ransom.

During wars, the victors would put the children of the vanquished to death to prevent vengeance. In one of the myths cited above, Eme′mqut, having annihilated the warriors of the Chukchee, says to his people, "Let us go to their camp and kill their women and children. If we leave them alive, the sons of the killed men will make war upon us when they grow up."[3] 727 628

The Koryak are very rancorous, and try to avenge every insult. At the Koryak fair on the Palpal I witnessed a fight which I consider characteristic. On the third day of the fair, reindeer-races and other contests took place. Among the combatants were two young Koryak from the Opuka River, A′ĭnqo and Xata′učñın. The former was the older and weaker, but succeeded by a clever twist in throwing his adversary. Xata′učñın soon found himself on top of A′ĭnqo, but the combat was pronounced undecided. In the evening of the same day, Xata′učñın quietly approached A′ĭnqo and struck him. A fight ensued, in which Xata′učñın soon gained the upper hand. Nobody interfered. Suddenly A′ĭnqo, whose face was all battered, ceased to defend himself, and squatted down on his heels. Xata′učñın kept on striking him on the head, while A′ĭnqo sat helplessly, his head drooping, his face covered with blood. Thus the beaten Koryak expresses his submission and pleads for his life. Xata′učñın raged like a wild beast, and would probably have killed A′ĭnqo but for the interference of the old men. As A′ĭnqo's relatives were expected to arrive at the fair the next day, the old men forced Xata′učñın to leave the same night in order that further fighting might be avoided. Before Xata′učñın's departure I invited him to my tent for a glass of tea, and asked him to explain to me the cause of the fight. It appeared that his enmity toward A′ĭnqo was of old standing. When he (Xata′učñın) was a boy, the elder A′ĭnqo used to beat him. Their fathers, too, had had 627 [181] 578

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[1] See Part I, p. 239.

[2] See Case of the Archives of the Gishiga District, 1882, No. 404.

[3] See Part I, p. 138.

435 at from 50 kopeks to 2 rubles. The result of this system is, that for a brick of tea one can get one reindeer-skin in some localities, and four reindeer-
437 skins in others.

For 5 arshin[1] of calico for a shirt, one can get one or two reindeer-
177 skins. Some Cossack traders, profiting by the love of the Reindeer Koryak for gay colors, manufacture small wooden boxes, paint them with colors, or cover them with red cloth, and exchange them for foxes or other furs. Of course, only Reindeer Koryak of distant localities can be caught by such devices. Koryak women give reindeer-skins, bags of seal-skin, small rugs, and other products, in exchange for glass beads, ear-rings, bracelets, brass buttons, and other ornaments. Sugar is the favorite exchange article. During the winter the Reindeer Koryak store away the tongues of killed reindeer, and in spring deliver them to the merchants in exchange for sugar, one tongue being given for each piece. In general, sugar is the most mobile exchange article next to tea and tobacco.

452 Many Reindeer Koryak, as well as the trading Maritime Koryak, enjoy credit with the merchants, and settle their accounts semi-annually or anually with furs or reindeer-skins. On the whole, however, trade on credit is much less common with the Koryak than it is with the Tungus or the Yakut.

436 Notwithstanding the exchange character of their trade, the Koryak, even in the remotest regions, know Russian money. In the places nearest to Russian settlements the Koryak prefer money to exchange articles in trading-transactions, and also as compensation for services rendered, for with money they can make purchases at the Government store.

Curiously enough, the Russian monetary unit, the ruble, has among the Koryak the same name as iron, *polou'nto;* a paper ruble is called keli'tul polou'nto (that is, "painted iron"); while a silver ruble, as well as silver itself, is called ñaña-polou'nto ("current iron").

487 Routes. — I have spoken of the means of transportation in several chapters. As to routes, there are none in those localities where the Reindeer Koryak wander with their herds. The Reindeer Koryak, in their wanderings, follow the currents of rivers or streams. From the valleys of the rivers they ascend to the pasture-land of the elevated treeless tundras, or cross over the mountain-ranges to other valleys.

487 The Maritime Koryak, in their winter travels with dogs, follow definite routes. From Itkana one route leads to Gishiginsk, another to Paren. From
205 Gishiginsk the route leads over Paren, Kuel, Mikino, and Shestakovo (Egač), to Kamenskoye. Between Shestakovo and Kamenskoye, the route branches off to the north, by way of the Penshinsk settlement, to Markova on the Anadyr; and from Kamenskoye one route leads to Palpal, another to Talovka. From

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[1] An arshin is equivalent to 0.778 of an English yard.

x 648 175 Shatiloff's campaign was the last undertaken from the fortress Anadyrsk. The Government had long before come to the conclusion that the subjection of the Koryak required the erecting of a number of fortresses along the Bay of Gishiga, which could be reached from Okhotsk by sea. The fortress Gishiginsk was founded by Okhotsk Cossacks in 1752, but the sea-route to Okhotsk was not opened until 1757. Between the years 1752 and 1756 hostile encounters continued to occur between Cossacks and the Koryak of the Okhotsk coast. The year 1756 is considered to be the last of the Koryak uprising. This, however, is only partly true. The annihilation of entire villages and settlements, the torture of prisoners, the capture of herds from the Reindeer Koryak, had broken their power of resistance only to a certain degree. The main cause of the cessation of wars with the Koryak lay in a change of policy on the part of the Russians. The commandant of the fortress Gishiginsk received orders not to send collectors of tribute to the Koryak villages and camps, but to propose to the Koryak chiefs that they deliver the tribute yearly at the fortress. We shall have occasion to see in how far that measure was conducive to the improvement of Russo-Koryak relations. Naturally there were at first very few Koryak groups who sent tribute voluntarily to Gishiginsk;[1] but experience had shown how futile it was to use force as a means of obtaining tribute.

The other cause of the wars lay in the national pride of the Russian conquerors, who insisted on breaking the stubborn resistance of alien peoples and on subjecting them to Russian rule. But here again experience had made it clear that the submission of these peoples was not worth the sacrifices which it cost. I am here referring only to the Koryak and Chukchee; for the related Kamchadal, being entirely sedentary, were more easily conquered by means of force. In the case of the Koryak, the modified policy of the conquerors finally led to the compromise just described. In regard to the Chukchee, however, it was decided to cease all further attempts to subjugate this people. The fortress Anadyrsk was entirely abolished in 1764 and the Administration transferred to Gishiginsk. Thus the wars of the Russians with the Koryak and Chukchee came to an end when the latter were entirely left to themselves.

x 648 651 177 THE TRIBUTE. — "Yasak" is the term applied to the tribute in furs which the Russians imposed on the conquered Siberian peoples. The historians of Siberia agree that during the early periods of settlement the main factor attracting the Russians to Siberia was its widely heralded wealth in furs. For a time Siberian furs were an important financial item in the budget of the Russian Empire. How enormous the wealth in furs of Siberia was at the beginning of the conquest is demonstrated by the fact that after the 648x defeat of the Siberian Khan Kuchum, his dominion — i. e. the territory lying in 651 the basin of the Obi River alone — was forced to pay to the Moscowite Czar a yearly tribute of 200,000 sables, 10,000 black foxes, and 500,000 squirrels 177 of the best quality, besides beavers and ermines. Having discovered how profitable the fur trade was to the Treasury, the State was no longer satisfied with the tribute of furs, but began to monopolize the fur trade. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Czar Boris Godunoff decreed that the hunters and fur-traders deposit their merchandise in the Treasury for a fixed remuneration. The accumulated furs were placed in the care of a special department in Moscow, which disposed of them through its agents in Turkey, Persia, Bokhara, and, later, China. China in time became the largest and most profitable consumer of Siberian furs, for in exchange for its furs the Treasury would import from China chiefly gold and silver, with which the Moscowite empire paid for its wars.

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[1] As late as 1848 we find from the tribute records of the Gishiga district that the number of Reindeer Koryak who were assessed was 294; in the records of 1894 this number rises to 836; and, according to the census of 1897, the number of Reindeer Koryak in the Gishiga district is 2389.

After the Nerchinsk Treaty concluded by Peter the Great with the Chinese in 1689, the China trade continued to be Government monopoly until the year 1762.[1] In that year Empress Katerine II abolished the official caravans to Peking, leaving the trade, which was still based chiefly on furs, in the hands of private merchants. The free fur trade had a stimulating effect on the development of commercial relations between Siberia, European Russia, and the neighboring countries. The Treasury, on the other hand, no longer insisted that the tribute of Siberia be paid in furs exclusively. They were now free to pay their tribute in money, the amount being approximately estimated according to the value of the furs. Thus the field for official abuses was reduced, and the attitude of the natives towards the Russians began to improve.

The time of the attempts to subject the Koryak as well as the Kamchadal and Chukchee, coincides with the period of the Government monopoly in furs, when fur tribute was the cause for the sake of which thousands of men were tortured and killed whenever they refused or were not able to satisfy the rapaciousness of the foreign invaders. The tragedy of the situation for the natives lay in the fact that the sable, for whose fur the Russian demand was greatest, was a rare animal in the Koryak country, and did not occur at all in the territory of the Chukchee.

The question how tribute was levied, which was put afterwards on a definite basis by the so-called First Tribute (Yasak) Commission of 1762–66, is but superficially treated by the historians of Siberia. We do not know whether there existed before that commission definite and universally applied standards according to which the tribute to be paid by the hunters of this

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[1] The State monopoly of the fur trade was first limited in 1727, but in 1752 the full Government monopoly was again introduced.

648 651 177 or that people was estimated. From fragmentary bits of information we are justified in assuming that the amount of tribute to be levied was constantly decreased. The lowering of the standard obviously kept pace with the gradually decreasing numbers of fur-bearing animals, which was due to their extermination since the advent of the Russians to Siberia. According to Slovtzoff, in the beginning the tribute amounted to five sables for a single hunter, and ten for a married one: hence the conclusion seems justifiable, that in the beginning the wives of hunters had to pay their share. In some places from ten to twenty sables were required from the hunter; but the Government, says Slovtzoff (II, p. 62), was indulgent, and this rule was not always observed. In the second half of the seventeenth century we find a tribute of seven sables "per bow;" and, according to the Siberian census of 1722, the tribute levied amounted to three sables for each hunter; and finally, after the work of the First Tribute Commission, the amount paid by each hunter was fixed at one sable, or, in case no sable was available, at one fox-skin or one beaver-skin, etc. We know that the Chukchee altogether refused to pay fur tribute. This fact probably accounts for the circumstance, so puzzling to Baron Maydell, that the conquering activity of the Russians was more especially directed against the Chukchee, and not against the Koryak, although the attacks made by the latter on Russian detachments were far more frequent than those made by the Chukchee.

It is certain that one or another group of the Koryak was from time to time forced to pay tribute, although no references can be found as to the standard used in levying it, nor as to the total amount received. It seems, however, that the Koryak tribute was not very large from the start, and consisted rather of foxes than of the more valuable furs. Specific indications of the standard used in levying the tribute from the Kamchadal are also lacking; but, judging from certain available data, the amount collected from the Kamchadal must have been very considerable, the tribute consisting chiefly of expensive furs. Thus, when Atlassoff returned from his first expedition to Kamchatka, — after visiting only the people of the Kamchatka River, — he carried with him thirty-two hundred sables, many hundred foxes, about one hundred sea-otters, for the Treasury, and, as his private provision, four hundred sables and numerous other furs. In time the Kamchadal tribute from the whole peninsula increased in amount. According to the denunciation made by the Cossacks against Petrilofsky, one of the commanders in Kamchatka in the first half of the eighteenth century, the latter had "stolen" in the course of one year 5600 sables, 2000 foxes, 207 sea-otters, and 169 otters. Without any doubt, other commanders of Kamchatka were not far behind Petrilofsky in filling their purses at the expense of the Kamchadal.[1]

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[1] Judging from a statement made by Krasheninnikoff, the official tribute of the Kamchadal was fixed at one sable to a hunter, even before the regulations of the First Tribute Commission. Thus, while referring to the begin-

648x 651 177 According to historical data referring to Siberia before the First Tribute Commission, the collectors in the native settlements and camps were Cossacks and officials, who received lists of all assessable men; that is, of adults capable of hunting. The details of this method of collecting tribute can no longer be ascertained. All we know is, that the illiterate collectors, who were in the majority, carried little sticks with notches to indicate the number of men assessed. Each hunter had to pay his own share.[1] In addition, however, the collectors expected presents for themselves, for the military commanders, and for other high officials. In some cases presents were sent to the Czar himself. These presents were known as the "gratuitous" or "complimentary" tribute (поминочный или поклонный ясакъ), as distinguished from the crown tribute or tribute proper (податной ясакъ).[2]

The collectors were accompanied to unsafe localities by Cossack escorts, who demanded their share of presents. Besides, the collectors carried with them merchandise for barter. Thus it happened that the furs which reached the Treasury were never of the best quality. In Kamchatka these practices were indulged in with exceptional freedom. In a country so far distant from the central Administration, the collectors and their men were in reality bands of robbers whose exploits would rouse the Kamchadal to fury and despair. Thus one of these collectors and his escort of twenty-five Cossacks were burned by the Kamchadal on the Avacha River, the Kamchadal hostages perishing with the rest. When the collector arrived, the Kamchadal greeted him with honors, assigned to him and his Cossacks a separate summer house on piles, and, promising to pay the tribute on the following morning, left hostages selected from among the best men of the village. At night, when the house was set on fire, the Kamchadal called to the hostages to escape; but they answered that they were in chains, and bade their people outside burn the house, leaving them to their fate.[3]

As far as the Koryak are concerned, it may, I think, be asserted, that not only was there no standard for the tribute, but that it was paid only once in a while, under direct compulsion of military parties; and after the foundation of the fortress Gishiginsk, the Koryak tribute became a voluntary contribution, which the representatives of the various Koryak groups themselves delivered at the fortress.

The task of the First Tribute Commission, which was appointed by

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ning of the seventeenth century (II, p. 342), he tells of a collector who demanded from the Kamchadal two or three sables instead of one.

[1] During the early period of the conquest of Siberia, some heads of tribes with advanced social and political organization, like the khans of the Kirghiz and of some Tatar peoples of western Siberia, were bound to pay a certain yearly tribute in sables and other furs for the whole tribe. For example, the Tatar prince Yedigher had to pay yearly a thousand sables (see Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte, p. 182).

[2] There existed still another kind of tribute called "decimal" (десятинный). It was levied exclusively from Russian hunters in Siberia, who had to reserve for the Treasury the fur of every tenth animal killed.

[3] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 352.

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Empress Katherine, was to regulate the tribute question and to put an end to the abuses of the collectors. The reforms introduced by the commission were based on the following principles: 1. The tribute is to be paid by a representative for the entire clan or group; the further apportionment of the tribute is left to the natives themselves. 2. The representative of the group is to deliver the tribute in person to the administrative centre; collectors are abolished. 3. Subject to the tribute are native men from sixteen to sixty years of age, who are to be called "workers" or "tax souls." 4. Payment may be made in furs or in money, the amount being calculated in money for each person, and varying, in the case of fur payments, according to locality, the nature of the animals, and the current valuation of the latter.

These principles, with some additions and a general lowering of the amount of tribute to be paid, were accepted by the Second Tribute Commission (1828–35). The age of the "workers" was limited to men from eighteen to fifty. The number of "workers" of every clan was fixed by the census. The last census for this purpose was taken in 1859. The standards then established varied for different localities. Obviously for each locality, and even for each group and clan, it was fixed by mutual agreement of the representatives of the Treasury and of the natives. Even the so-called Koryak clans were until lately differently taxed. Thus, the tax of a "worker" from the Vivnik clan amounted to 2 rubles 86 kopeks, while that of a "worker" from the Alutor clan amounted only to 1 ruble 49 kopeks.[1] At present the Koryak of the Gishiga district are taxed uniformly at the rate of 1 ruble 15 kopeks per "worker." I have not been able to ascertain from the Archives since what date this last method of taxation was adopted. To illustrate the great reduction of the tribute, I will compare the last tax recorded, with the original one of ten sables per hunter. According to the data kept by the Administration of the Gishiga district for the year 1897, there were in that district 241 taxable Reindeer Koryak, and 407 Maritime Koryak. As there are more Reindeer Koryak in the Gishiga district than Maritime people (the census figures for 1897 are 2389 Reindeer and 2045 Maritime Koryak),[2] the data on the taxed population indicate that many of the Reindeer Koryak do not pay tribute, and the number 407 is also lower than the total number of men of the Maritime Koryak between the ages of eighteen and fifty.

According to the official report for 1897, the Koryak tribute for that year was paid, two thirds in furs, and one third in money. The official appraisement of furs is lower than their market price. The appraisement in rubles and kopeks is as follows, the valuation being given in each case for the fur without paws or tail.

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[1] See Archives of the Administration of the Gishiga District, No. 751, 1867.

[2] See p. 445.

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Sable (superior quality)	10.00
Sable (inferior quality)	8.00
White fox	1.50
Wolf	2.50
Red fox	2.00
Cross-fox	8.00
Ermine	0.08[1]

The Itkana Koryak, who hunt fur-bearing animals very little, bring to Gishiginsk the skins of ground-seals, and bundles of thongs cut out of skins of ground-seals. Twenty-eight of them are tax-payers, their total tribute amounting to 32 rubles 20 kopeks. To cover that sum, their elder delivers to Gishiginsk ten ground-seal skins and six bundles of thongs. In the open market the skins alone would amount to 60 rubles, 6 rubles apiece.

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THE PRESENT RELATIONS OF THE RUSSIANS AND THE KORYAK. — The military conquest by Russia, of that part of Siberia where agriculture is impossible, could not call forth a voluntary agricultural colonization. The first Russian invaders were all hunters and soldiers. In the course of time they were joined by forced immigrants and exiled criminals. The colonial policy was in the beginning nothing but a means of reaching the Siberian peltry resources. The central Government was in the majority of cases benevolently inclined towards the natives. The local administrations were often instructed to be lenient in gathering tribute, and not to insult the natives; but these benevolent intentions could not be harmonized with the actual situation, where tribute had to be extorted from natives who were often unable to pay it. In order to comply with the requirements of the official agents, the native had to neglect the material needs of his family, and concentrate his entire energy on the hunt for fur-animals. Besides, the agents robbed the natives to their own advantage, committed violence, tortured and enslaved the men, carried away their women and children; and when the natives revolted, the agents claimed that the natives had arisen against the Czar's power.

Then the Government would send military parties to suppress the revolt and to punish the guilty. Of course, Russia did not act any worse than did many other nations regarding their colonial "possessions." Even now, the African negroes, for instance, revolt because the white intruders rob them of their land and of the natural products of their country, meanwhile burdening them with taxes to support the same Administration which suppresses them. In one respect the Russians were superior to other European colonizers, for they exhibited only to a moderate degree the consciousness of racial superiority over the natives, which other white peoples possess in a very exaggerated degree. The Siberian natives were not treated with contempt. When the greed of the Russian was satisfied or did not come to the foreground, the conqueror and the conquered would easily come to terms. On the whole,

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[1] For the local market-price of the skins here mentioned, see p. 775.

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however, the system of violent extortion and repression led to the extermination of those people which were not especially numerous or possessed of exceptional vitality. Thus many clans of the Yukaghir entirely disappeared. The Chukchee and the Koryak, on the other hand, although not numerous, but stubborn and full of vital energy, succeeded to a certain extent in preserving their ethnic individuality.

The colonial policy of deriving the maximum possible profits from the natives, for the benefit of the Government and of private individuals, resulted in the extermination of several small peoples, and finally led to the exhaustion of the source of these profits itself. The present yearly export of sables from Kamchatka, for instance, does not reach two thousand skins, while on the Kolyma this valuable animal has entirely disappeared.

The fur trade gradually deteriorated as a source of State revenues, and no other source took its place. Thus, as a result of a barbaric colonial policy, the expenditures of the State for the administration of the remote districts of Siberia became, in the course of time, greater than the revenues derived from these districts. The tribute could no longer be regarded as a source of income, and had to be looked upon as a symbol of the submission of the tribute-paying peoples, — a symbol which flattered a petty national pride, but was paid for by the Government through a costly administration of unprofitable colonies. It is worth noting that the tribute paid by the small Siberian peoples is not sent to the Treasury, but to the household of the Imperial Court. The romantic view of the fur tribute as a concrete proof of the subjection of the natives to the Czar was entertained by the Bureaucracy at the end of the past century, and is still entertained by them. Even the learned official traveller, Baron Maydell, in part held that view. The chief purpose of the so-called "Chukchee Expedition" (1869–70), at the head of which he stood, was the subjection to Russia of the Chukchee, who were not paying tribute. To induce the Chukchee to pay tribute, methods were used, and probably are still used, which are as humorous as they are humiliating to the Russian Empire. The Court Treasury spent a certain sum yearly on presents for those Chukchee who paid their tribute voluntarily. The chief of the Kolyma district, on his way to the Chukchee fair on the Anui River, would carry on special sledges presents consisting of iron kettles, tea-pots, tobacco, etc. In 1892 I witnessed on the Anui River the ceremony of the tribute presentation by the Chukchee. Ten or so Chukchee from various localities came to the official cabin, and in the presence of the district chief were entertained by the Cossacks with tea, sugar, and biscuits. After a speech suitable to the occasion had been made by the chief through an interpreter, to the effect that the Czar loved the Chukchee and was sending them presents, each of the natives made his small contribution to the tribute with a red or arctic fox. Then the imperial presents were inspected and additions begged

for, which were generally granted by the chief, who was anxious to get rid 648x
of his tiresome guests. The results of the barter were very favorable to the
Chukchee. They had received presents which in value greatly exceeded their 177
tribute; the hides meanwhile were ceremoniously stamped with the official
seal and despatched to the Court Treasury in St. Petersburg as a token of
Chukchee submissiveness.[1] In other cases, like that of the Yukaghir, — to
be treated in Vol. IX of this series, — even a very moderate tribute had a
fatal effect on the economic life of the people.

In order to demonstrate to what extent the State expenditures for the 651
northeastern districts exceed the revenues, I shall present the data for the 177
Gishiga district. I have in my possession the official reports on that region
for the year 1897. The total tribute for that year amounts to 1119 rubles 648x
(364 rubles in currency, and 755 in furs), of which sum the Koryak paid 745 rubles, and the Tungus 374. The "voluntary contributions" made by the Palpal Chukchee and Koryak at the Chukchee fair[2] amounted to another 73 rubles. The natives regard the tribute as a present to the Czar. As we have seen, it does not go to the State Treasury. The revenues of the Treasury from the district of Gishiginsk consisted of the so-called Zemstvo taxes[3] to the amount of 163 rubles, and taxes of merchants to the amount of 1606 rubles. I have not been able to obtain the exact figures of the expenditures for the administration of the district, but I consider 40,000 rubles a conservative estimate. The maintenance of the district chief, his assistant, the secretary, and their offices, amounts to no less than 12,000 rubles a year. The salary of the chief alone is 4500 rubles. Then follow the salaries of a priest in Gishiginsk, of a missionary, a physician, and two assistant surgeons, who also reside in Gishiginsk, and scarcely ever visit the Koryak camps and villages.[4] The last item is the maintenance of the Cossack detachment, which is the largest single expenditure in the budget for the administration of the district.

A few words should be said regarding the Gishiginsk Cossacks. Although 648x
these Cossacks are the descendants of the warriors who conquered Siberia, 708
they are no longer military men, nor are they controlled by the Ministry of
War. Since 1822 they have been under the Ministry of the Interior, and 177
are used by the district chief for police and messenger services. This archaic
institution of a staff of civil Cossacks still survives in all the district towns
of the Province of Yakutsk, and among those of the Maritime Province

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[1] Dr. S. J. Mitzkevich, the former physician of the Kolyma district, told me that during his visit to the Anui fair in 1901, the chief of the district did not bring any presents for the Chukchee tribute-payers; and the Chukchee of the Chukchee Peninsula, on being informed of this, requested the return to them of the tribute skins which they had given to the chief. Their request was granted.

[2] See p. 776.

[3] Since 1893 the Maritime Koryak and other settled peoples had to pay, in addition to the tribute, taxes amounting to 4 kopeks per soul. These taxes were raised to cover local expenses, such as repairs of roads, etc.

[4] This was true at least of the medical staff during my stay in the Gishiga district.

648 708 177 in Gishiginsk, Markova, Petropavlovsk, Okhotsk, and Udsk. The Cossacks form an hereditary class, and their services are obligatory. The term of the Cossack's active service is twenty-five years, beginning at the age of eighteen. Every Cossack draws a yearly salary of seventy rubles, and receives monthly seventy-two pounds of rice and flour. Boys, from their birth to the age of sixteen, receive half that amount of provisions. Hence boys are much desired in Cossack families, and a Cossack maiden who has male children born out of wedlock is a welcome bride. The Cossack detachment in Gishiginsk numbers about thirty, and the wives and children bring the number up to over one hundred. The duties of the Gishiginsk Cossacks consist in being on service in the offices of the district chief, in escorting officials on their journeys through the district, and in accompanying the mail as carriers; scientific expeditions also made use of the Cossack as guards or as servants and interpreters. Thus, by order of the Maritime Governor, a Cossack was despatched with my party. Mr. Bogoras, on his journey to the Chukchee Peninsula, had with him two Cossacks. In the summer the duties of the Cossacks are limited to the days when steamers arrive. They unload the official freight, consisting to a large extent of rice and flour for their own use. The rest of their time they spend in fishing. Even during the winter months they have spare time enough to attend to their households or to serve as commissioners in the barter of the natives with the merchants.

x 648 177 The Cultural Influence of the Russians on the Koryak. — What has been shown in regard to the remote districts of Northeast Siberia, as exemplified by the Gishiga district, will in a future work on the Yukaghir be demonstrated in regard to the northern districts of the Yakutsk province; namely, that these districts require heavy expenditures from the metropolis, and that while the present policy lasts there is little hope for better conditions in the future. From these facts one would imagine that Russia maintains its remote northeastern colonies solely for the glory of possessing a territory which, although barren and not populated, is immense; or for the sake of civilizing the natives. These motives do without doubt enter as factors into the so-called "colonial policy" of Russia; but they are not the main causes of the deficits in the Treasury. The excess of expenditures over revenues is primarily due to a deficient administration of the territory, which is ruled by ignorant and mostly unnecessary officials. Frequently the high bureaucrats have no knowledge whatever of the country intrusted to their care. Here is an interesting illustration. The chief of the Gishiga district, Ratkevich, was rash enough to present in his report to the Governor of the Maritime Province for 1885 a short ethnographical sketch[1] describing cases where old men were killed or vendetta murders committed by the tribes in his district.

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[1] See the Gishiginsk Archives, Reports of the Chief of the District, of Sept. 30, 1885 (No. 197) and of Dec. 31, 1881 (No. 404).

648 X
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In answer to this report, the vice-governor wrote to Ratkevich, asking him, in the name of the Governor, on what grounds he tolerated in his locality acts which were illegal according to the laws of the Russian Empire.

In regard to the cultural activity of whites in general in their colonies, we must remember that no white nation has ever approached a primitive people with the sole purpose of civilizing it. All civilized nations have acquired colonies, on account of their natural products, as lands for immigration or as markets for their own products. The natives, in some cases, where they were not exterminated or had not died out under the burden of oppression, acquired in the course of time a certain degree of civilization through intercourse with the whites.

The extreme northeast of Siberia is not fit for Russian colonization. The culture of the Russian immigrants in these localities has deteriorated, and their mode of life is but little different from that of the natives. The number of Russian inhabitants in the Koryak territory, to judge by the Gishiga district, where the bulk of the people are Koryak, is slightly in excess of six per cent of the total population.

If the country cannot be populated by Russians, the question arises, whether under any conditions it would become possible for the latter to raise the civilization of the natives? The answer must be that a civilizing influence could certainly be exerted on the Koryak and their neighbors if the Government assigned for that purpose the sums now expended on the complex administration. Such expenditures for cultural purposes would ultimately result in an improvement of local conditions, leading to an increase of revenues which would easily equal and finally exceed the expenditures for the administration of the country. In place of the present staff of officials and the Cossack detachments, one commissary and a few paid guards could efficiently attend to the simple needs of the district. The duties of a commissary could be performed by one of the school-teachers. At the time of my stay in the Gishiga district, there were no schools. The children of the Gishiginsk priests, as well as the children of District Chief Prshevalinsky, Councillor of State, who died before my arrival, could hardly write a note or even sign their names; while the chief's wife, who belonged to the local Russians, was entirely illiterate. The Cossacks and common people were, of course, practically all illiterate. According to data contained in the Archives, an elementary school was held at different times; but as it was intrusted to the priest and sexton, who themselves were but little versed in the art of reading and writing, the school had to be closed after a short existence on paper. It goes without saying that the institution of schools with trained teachers in Gishiginsk, as well as in some of the more important Koryak settlements, would have familiarized the Koryak with Russian culture to a much greater extent than did the levying of a petty tribute. Besides giving x648 177 an elementary education, these schools ought to pursue practical ends. A breeding-station for reindeer associated with the school could vastly increase the value of herds. There the Koryak could be instructed in the advanced methods of domestication and of improving breeds, as well as in the art of preventing reindeer-epidemics. The school should also teach better methods of catching and preserving fish. The technical capacity and artistic talent of the Koryak, if properly directed, would lead to the development of home industries, — the production of fur rugs, for instance, — which would yield valuable articles for the export trade. If for a period of ten years the sums now expended on the administration of the country were spent on building and maintaining schools, the culture and material well-being of the Koryak could be raised to such an extent that their further development could be left in their own hands. Such ought to be the results aimed at by a rational colonial policy, leaving quite out of account the moral obligations of a civilized nation towards its primitive subjects. It cannot be denied that life under conditions and circumstances like those of the Koryak must be extremely hard to endure for people of any culture; but when the fate of the Siberian natives shall pass from the hands of the bureaucracy to those of the nation, not a few of the Russian intellectuals will be willing to sacrifice their comfort and habits of life for the sake of enlightening and enriching the inhabitants of the Far North.

It remains to summarize the positive and negative results derived by the Koryak from their contact with civilization. I shall, however, treat only of those aspects of the subject which were not touched upon in my description of the modern material culture of the Koryak as compared with that of the past. After the complete subjection of the Kamchadal, followed by a number of military rulers who abused their vast powers, Kamchatka entered upon a period characterized by greater consideration for the natives. That period, beginning with the end of the eighteenth century, could be termed the "period of enlightened despotism." Instead of trying to stimulate the local pursuits of the natives, the Administration decided to introduce among the Kamchadal occupations belonging to Russian civilization. By means of flogging and other modes of punishment, the Kamchadal were forced to build Russian houses, sow rye, raise vegetables, and breed cattle. The constraining measures innocently used by the despotic civilizers killed in the Kamchadal all initiative and energy: their individuality was totally crushed. Of course, all attempts to introduce agriculture utterly failed, while cattle-breeding and horticulture are still carried x647 177 31 on in a desultory way. This "enlightened despotism" had its effect also on the Koryak settlements in northern Kamchatka. Here horticulture proved impossible, while horses and cattle are bred on a small scale. Thus, according to the data for 1896, there were in the village Dranka 9 horses and 17 cows; in Karagha, 3 horses and 2 cows; in Uka, 1 horse; in Pallan, 7

648 X horses and 21 cows; and in Lesnovskoye, 27 horses and 2 cows. A some-
231 what greater number of these animals is found in the village Yamsk of the
Okhotsk district. In 1895 there were in that village 30 horses and 40 cows;
here, however, the population consisted in part of Yakut, who, being born
177 cattle-breeders, take much better care of their cattle than do the Kamchadal
and Koryak. The inhabitants of Yamsk also raise potatoes; in 1895, 63
puds[1] of these were planted, and 602 puds were reaped.

The Missionaries. — With the exception of a few noble personalities,
797 like the Aleut missionary Veniaminoff, or the Altai missionary Verbitsky, the history of the activity of Greek-Orthodox missionaries among the heathen peoples of Siberia cannot be considered honorable. Up to the present time, the priests and monks sent to the Far Northeast are men of little education; they do not know, and are not able to study, the languages of the natives; they have rough manners, and are utterly lacking in qualities indispensable in expounders of the moral foundations of Christianity. Among the Koryak, the Russian missionaries had at first no success whatever. Among the Kamchadal, baptism in the beginning served as a means of making slaves of the newly baptized; and missionaries, no less than Cossacks, strove, above all, to secure furs. The secular chiefs often regarded the conversion of the Kamchadal to Christianity as one of the means of subjecting them. One of these chiefs would hang a Kamchadal who refused to be baptized; others excused the newly baptized for a number of years from paying tribute.[2] From the Kamchadal the missionaries proceeded to the Uka and Pallan Koryak of northern Kamchatka, and from there to the Alutor. In Dranka there is at the present time a church with a resident priest. But all these Christianized Koryak adopted to a certain degree only the formal side of the Orthodox creed. The same holds true of the Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district and of the village Nayakhan in the Gishiga district, while the great bulk of the population of the Gishiga district has until to-day entirely resisted Christianity. These phenomena must in part be ascribed to the great tenacity with which the Koryak cling to their old religious beliefs. Besides, however, the Koryak are reluctant to undertake the burdens associated with baptism. The priest must be paid for performing the ceremonies of the Church, and be driven about the villages and settlements without remuneration to the drivers. To this must be added the abuses and extortions committed by the priests, against which the secular administration itself has repeatedly protested. In the Gishiginsk Archives there are several suits directed against the abuses of the clergy. Thus a suit was filed against three priests who had entered the services of merchants as drivers of goods, at the same time

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[1] One pud is equivalent to 40 Russian or 36 English pounds.

[2] For very interesting data on the unfavorable activity of the clergy, and on the oppression of the Kamchadal by the officials, see Dr. Tushov, Along the Western Shore of Kamchatka (Memoirs of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1906).

797 making free use of the transportation facilities of the Russian settlers and the natives, in their capacity as priests.[1]

Without going into a discussion of questions of a purely religious character, it must be said that the priests would have been in a position to promote the cultural mission, had better men been selected, and had their subsidies from the Government or private missionary societies been large enough to prevent them from becoming a burden to the local population.

177 THE AMERICANS. — Of the representatives of other civilized nations, the Koryak know but the name "Americans," — American whalers. The carving shown in Fig. 173, p. 655, representing the captain of an American, whaling-ship, testifies to the fact that the Koryak are acquainted with American seamen. It is hard to fix the date when American traders first appeared in Koryak waters; certain it is, that as far back as the first half of the nineteenth century American whaling-ships hunted for whales and other sea-animals in many places on the Okhotsk and Bering Seas. They entered into relations with the Koryak, and carried on barter with them. The Gulf of Baron Korff, the island of Karagha, and Penshina Bay, were among the places visited by American schooners. At present such visits are less frequent, owing to the decrease of the number of sea-animals in these regions. From its earliest days and up to the present time the American hunt of sea-animals in these waters has been carried on as contraband; but, owing to the absence of coast defences, the hunt of sea-animals, as well as the barter with the Koryak, continue undisturbed. The Koryak themselves are sympathetically disposed towards American seamen. These men from beyond the sea demand no tribute, want no free services; on the contrary, they themselves perform services for the Koryak (see p. 550). The American articles which they offer in exchange for reindeer hides and furs are cheaper and of better quality than the articles brought by the Russian merchants. The elder of the Taigonos Koryak once asked me this question: "Tiyk-e′yim (Sun Chief; that is, the Czar) is so powerful; why are his workers inferior to those of the American e′yim (chief)? The guns, cords, and clothes received from the Americans are of better quality than the Russian ones." The alcoholic liquors which the American traders carry along with other good things are also highly appreciated by the Koryak. There were cases however, when the crews of American schooners entered Koryak villages with other than amicable intentions. In connection with one visit of American sailors to Koryak villages, there is in the Archives of the Gishigia district Administration an interesting "case" (No. 578) referring to the year 1856. The heading reads, "The case of the robbery of the Kamenskoye and Levati Koryak by men of unknown nationality who arrived on ships" In substance it was the following: —

Early in the winter of the year 1856 some Koryak from Kamenskoye

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[1] From records in the Gishiginsk Archives.

177 went to Gishiginsk and complained to the authorities that they themselves, and the inhabitants of the neighboring village Levatt, had been robbed in the summer by American whalers. All the inhabitants of these two villages had departed in their skin boats to hunt seals. Only two Koryak had remained in Kamenskoye. While the villages were still deserted, two three-masters entered the bay and dropped anchor in the vicinity of Kamenskoye. Here three whales were killed. The men from the ships boarded their whaleboats and came ashore. The two Koryak mentioned above, seeing the approaching strangers, left the village and fled to a near-by rock. Watching the strangers from afar, they saw how they carried out of the houses foxes, reindeer-hides, and fur garments. Then the sailors entered Levatt, where they proceeded in the same fashion. Further, it appears from the "case" that an account of the occurrence, written by the chief of the Gishiga district, was sent by the Governor to the Minister of the Interior, who passed it over to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to be presented for explanation to the United States of North America. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, however, declared that he could not adopt the course of action suggested, for the testimony of the two Koryak was insufficient to positively establish the nationality of the sailors. Thus the affair remained unexplained. As, however, whalers of no other nationality had until then visited Gishiga Bay, it seems plausible that the whalers in question were Americans.

101 THE NEIGHBORING PEOPLE. — The neighbors of the Koryak at the present time are the Chukchee in the north, the Kamchadal in the south, the Yukaghir in the west, and the Tungus in the southwest. On the middle course of the Penshina River we find, wandering with their herds, the remainder of the now almost extinct Chuvantzy people, who were related to the Yukaghir, but have now become assimilated with the Koryak. From the direction of the Kolyma River, single representatives of the Yakut people at times go to the Koryak territory as traders. The Russianized Koryak of the Okhotsk district, like the inhabitants of Yamsk and Tumanskoye, have to a certain degree mixed with the Yakut, who have been forced to migrate from the vicinity of Yakutsk to the shores of the Okhotsk Sea.

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648 I have repeatedly mentioned the fact that the Kamchadal, Koryak, and Chukchee are really branches of one and the same people, as testified to by the type of their languages, their religion and culture, except for the fact that the Kamchadal have no reindeer-herds. According to tradition, the early relations of the Koryak with the Chukchee were different from their relations with the Kamchadal. With the former the Koryak were constantly engaged in war, while their relations with the latter were of a more friendly character. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that the Reindeer Chukchee and the Reindeer Koryak, whose territories were as loosely defined in olden times as they are now, came into constant collision regarding pas-

648 turages. Besides, in the days when might was right, herds were often taken
by force through direct attack of the herd-owner: they had to be always
174 watched, arms in hand. The Reindeer Chukchee, in their invasions of the
Koryak Reindeer camps, would ultimately reach the sea and attack the set-
tlements of the Maritime Koryak. The northern villages of the Kerek are
173 still subject to oppression by the Reindeer Chukchee, who, as the Koryak,
often rob the Kerek of their stores, and exact service from them.

721 We have some traditions recording wars between the Kamchadal and
the Koryak. Without doubt, such wars occured often, as well as lesser
feuds between the various groups of each of these two peoples; but what may
be concluded from the traditions is, that no such antagonism existed between
the Kamchadal and the Koryak as between the latter and the Chukchee and
437 Yukaghir. This could possibly be explained by the fact that in northern
Kamchatka the settlements of the Maritime Koryak are in direct contact with
167 the settlements of the Kamchadal. It would have been hard to draw an
ethnographic line between these settlements. Marriages between the peoples
were common, and the border region was populated by a mixed people.

The Kamchadal obtained from the Reindeer Koryak, through barter,
hides for clothing, and these trading-relations were peaceful. In olden times
the Reindeer Koryak did not advance in Kamchatka farther south than Tighil.
The subsequent movement of the Reindeer Koryak along the western
slope of the Kamchatka ridge southward led to complaints from the Kam-
chadal, who accused the reindeer-breeders of driving away their game-animals
or of killing them out of the hunting-season. To regulate these conditions,
the Russian authorities require from the Reindeer Koryak, that whenever they
pass to the Kamchadal territory, they shall secure the consent of the neigh-
boring Kamchadal villages and abstain from hunting earlier than the Kam-
chadal hunters. On the other hand, the Kamchadal derive benefits from the
close proximity of the Reindeer Koryak; for, outside of the advantages of
barter, the Koryak kill reindeer for the Kamchadal in times of famine. Still
the Koryak are not admitted to the valley of the Kamchatka River.

The relations of the Koryak to the Yukaghir and Tungus will be dis-
177 cussed more fully in the work on the Yukaghir. Besides, the Koryak at
present scarcely ever meet the Yukaghir. Only those of the Reindeer Ko-
ryak who during the winter traverse the Stanovoi Mountains to the valleys
648 of the Korkodon and the Omolon Rivers, come in contact with the Korko-
don Yukaghir. Their relations with the Yukaghir are rather of a beneficial
character. The Yukaghir are too poor to carry on regular barter. Generally
they induce the reindeer-owners to give them some hides and a little deer-
meat for nothing. The Tungus, who before the advent of the Russians, were
constantly at war with the Koryak, began, after the subjection of the coun-
try by Russia, to penetrate the unoccupied localities in the Koryak terri-

tory. Being hunters, they occupy the wooded valleys of rivers which abound 177
in game, and where the Koryak with their herds are seldom met with.
Friction is thus avoided. It even happens that the Koryak and the Tungus 648
peacefully camp not far from each other or side by side. Thus the Tungus
gradually advanced to several tributaries of the Penshina River, on which
the squirrel occurs; and along the shores of the Okhotsk Sea they quite
recently penetrated, even to Kamchatka, where, besides finding plenty of
food for their reindeer, and mountain-sheep for hunting, they ran across a
valuable fur-animal, — the sable.

Thus the original warlike relations of the Koryak with the neighboring 178
natives were in the course of time superseded by entirely peaceful relations,
based chiefly on barter. It is true that the Koryak still have contemptuous 648
nicknames for each of the peoples; but, wherever they come into contact
with these peoples, they form friendships and favor intermarriages.

An interesting trait in the lives of these primitive peoples is the remark- 186
able tolerance with which they treat each other's customs and beliefs, and 648
their willingness, in case of need, to recognize each other's strength or su-
periority. Thus the Koryak do not hesitate to appeal for assistance to the
shamans of the Chukchee or Tungus. A foreign shaman is even treated [756]
with more than the ordinary respect accorded to his class, for he is the
master of spirits who are beyond the control of local shamans. When a
Koryak enters into the relation of marriage or of friendship with a person 582
belonging to another people, the accompanying ceremonies follow the custom 648
of either of the two peoples, according to agreement. If a Koryak, for
example, marries a Tungus girl, the marriage ceremony is performed in ac-
cordance with Tungus customs, and he pays a ransom for the bride. A
Tungus girl, on the other hand, on entering a Koryak household, puts on
Koryak garments and submits to the customs which regulate the home life
of the Koryak. A Tungus has to serve for his Koryak bride Tungus-
Koryak marriages are, however, very rare in the interior of the country.
As indicated above, intermarriages of the Koryak with the Tungus are of
most frequent occurrence in the territory of the Reindeer Koryak on the
Gishiga and Varkhalam Rivers. Although the Tungus are all Christians, they
do not invite the Russian priests to perform their marriage ceremonies
whenever one of the parties belongs to the heathen Koryak, but wed according
to Koryak or ancient Tungus customs. Marriages between the Koryak and
the Chukchee are more frequent than those between the former and the
Tungus. In the case of these intermarriages, the Chukchee camps within
the Koryak territory, like those in the north of Kamchatka or on the Para-
pol Dol, adopt Koryak customs; on the Chukchee frontier, on the other
hand, in the northern part of the Palpal, the Koryak submit to Chukchee
customs, including that of exchanging wives.

11: Kennan--215-216 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 177, 756, 797 Reindeer

"The Russian Church is endeavoring by missionary enterprise to convert all the Siberian tribes to Christianity; and although they have met with a certain degree of apparent success among the settled tribes of Yookágaree, Chooáncee, and Kamtchadálle, the wandering natives still cling to Shamanism, and there are more than 70,000 followers of that religion in the scanty population of Northeastern Siberia. Any permanent and genuine conversion of the Wandering Koraks and Chook-[216]chees must be preceded by some educational enlightenment and an entire change in their mode of life."

11: Kennan--233 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 177, 577 Maritime

"The reasons for the great difference between the settled and the Wandering Koraks are various. In the first place, the former live in fixed villages, which are visited very frequently by the Russian traders; and through these traders and Russian peasants they have received many of the worst vices of civilization without any of its virtues. To this must be added the demoralizing influence of American whalers, who have given the settled Koraks rum and cursed them with horrible diseases, which are only aggravated by their diet and mode of life. They have learned from the Russians to lie, cheat, and steal; and from whalers to drink rum and be licentious. Besides all these vices, they eat the intoxicating Siberian toadstool in inordinate quantities, and this habit alone will in time debase and brutalize any body of men to the last degree."

175 648 The first information about the Koryaks was received in Russia from the Cossacks Semen Dezhnev and Mikhail Stadukhin. The Russian moves from the Anadyr' Fort to Kamchatka began with the campaigns of Morozko (1690) and Atlasov (1697-1698). Arbitrary exaction of the fur-tax and, especially, abuses on the part of representatives of the tsar's government encountered Koryak resistance, in the form of armed attack on the units of tax-collectors.

During the latter half of the 18th century, the change in the Russian tax policy (decreased levies and establishment of a fixed tax) resulted in a cessation of the armed attacks on Russian units. The tsarist government also tried to make use of the wealthy upper stratum of Koryak society for its own benefit. Under the new regulations, the tax was submitted by the wealthy Koryaks, who were granted the right to collect it from the population. Supporting and strengthening the exploiting upper group in this manner, the tsarist government also admitted some of its representatives to administrative positions. Thus, the rich baptized toyon of the village of Kamenskoye, Semen Um'yavin, was even a member of the lower District Court during the reign of Catherine II.

In organizing the taxation, the local Russian administration formed administrative units ("clans"), which consisted of neighboring villages of coastal Koryaks and specified territorial groups of reindeer Koryaks. While helping to consolidate the power of the rich Koryaks heading these "clans," the tsarist government also left the Koryaks at the mercy of the commercial exploitation of Russian merchants.

[433] 439 175 On the whole, the Koryaks lived in a state of subsistence economy in the latter 18th and in the 19th centuries. But side by side with barter between the reindeer-breeding and the coastal Koryaks, there was also a gradual development of trade with Russians. In the 19th century, the Koryaks could not longer manage without imported Russian goods: kettles, iron articles, tobacco, tea, etc. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, American goods also began to penetrate into Koryak territory. At that time, American traders had their own storehouses on the territory, as well as their own agents, and so on. Trade was usually attended by getting the natives drunk and swindling them, and brought enormous profits to the merchants and buyers.

175 •177 During the latter half of the 18th century, closer ties developed between the Koryaks and the Russians. At this time, Russian villages sprang up on Koryak territory, including Penzhino, Gizhiga, etc. From the Russians, the Koryaks obtained iron hunting and fishing implements, readymade twine for their nets, more efficient instruments for working wood and bone, and so on. [342] Under the influence of Russian culture, some of the sedentary Koryaks began to live in frame houses. Russian manufactured goods came into daily use, including metal utensils, food products, and, to a lesser degree, textile goods. [184] [551] The strongest cultural influence of the Russians was among the southern Koryaks. Russian names and surnames became predominant among them.

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Economy

In the past, the economic activities of the Koryaks consisted of reindeer-breeding, sea-animal hunting, fishing and hunting. The territorial groups listed earlier differed in their economic life. The Chavchuvens were typical reindeer-breeders. They knew nothing of sea hunting, and fur-animal hunting was to them only an auxiliary occupation; fishing was also unimportant. The economy of the Alyutortsy was unusual in that it combined fishing and

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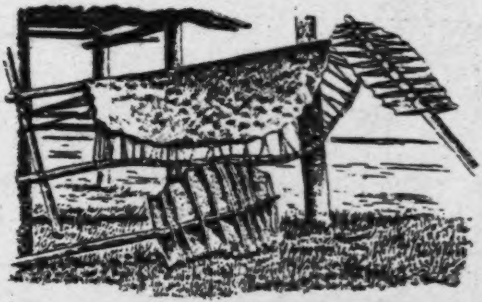

Drying skins.

342 removed, or else worn, old coverings were used. The main skeleton of the yaranga consisted of three thick poles, 3-4 meters long and inserted so as to form a large tripod. In a circle around them were set shorter vertical poles (1.5 to 2 m long) at a distance of one or two meters. These were connected at the top with horizontal beams, from which more poles ran to the top of the tripod. This frame was then covered with pelts. Light penetrated [354] into the dwelling through the smoke-opening above and through the entrance, when the skin serving as a door was thrown back.

Inside the yaranga, 3-4 canopies were attached to the horizontal beams. These canopies, made of reindeer skins, were occupied by separate families. [354] A canopy formed an enclosure of skins and was lighted by a lamp fueled with reindeer or seal fat. Inside the canopy, it was very warm, and during the day the front part was usually raised and left open.

[184] Among the Koryaks who nomadized in southern Kamchatka, yarangas usually had from 3 to 6 canopies, which were high enough to stand in without touching the ceiling. The canopies were very often cleaned and beaten out. Yarangas were built by women, and their size depended on the wealth of the inhabitants.

Most of the coastal Koryaks lived in semidugouts. The base of such a dwelling consisted of a large pit, 1-1.5 meters deep. The walls of the pit were reinforced with a paling of vertical logs, which formed an octagon. Each corner of the octagon was joined on the top, by means of a beam, with the tops of four main posts set in the center of the pit. On these beams were laid flat planks, forming the roof. The frame was covered with sod. At one side of the semidugout was a corridor, 2-3 meters long, with small doors at either end; this served as the summer entrance (or, to be more precise, [354] [417] the spring and autumn entrance). Overhead, in the center of the roof, was a square opening (0.5 × 0.5 m), which was at the same time a smoke vent, a window, and a winter entrance. Instead of a ladder, the Koryaks used a thick log, grooved to form steps. Outside on the roof, around the entrance (smoke vent), they built a funnel of poles (on the coast of Penzhina Bay), or of woven twigs (on the eastern coast), to protect the entrance from snow- 36 drifts. The funnel was supported by props. Inside the dwelling, low benches were built along three of the walls. These were covered with skins, and over them were hung sleeping canopies. A hearth was constructed at the wall on which the corridor opened. In winter, the corridor served as a storage room and a ventilator flue: there was a vent in its ceiling, and this was opened 342 592 [177] when a fire was going in the hearth. A semidugout usually housed several (2, 3 or more) related families (much like the reindeer-breeders' yaranga). Some of them held as many as 30-40 inhabitants. When spring came, the Koryaks moved to tall huts, set on stilts. Later they began to use fabric tents.

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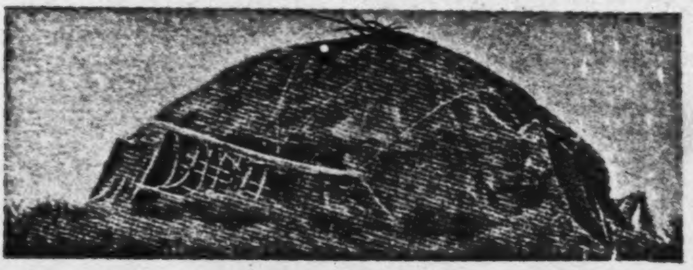

Reindeer-breeders' dwelling.

361 [172] fishing, or at river deltas. Kerek villages were small, consisting of only one or two dwellings. In the past, however, as seen from the ruins, they consisted of 10 to 15 dwellings.

● 177 342 Russian influence led to the appearance in the villages of the sedentary Koryaks of wooden frame houses as long ago as the middle of the last century.

Means of Transportation

492 493 [184] [171] The nomad Koryaks traveled by reindeer, the sedentary ones by dog-transport. The reindeer were harnessed to the sled; the Koryaks did not know of riding on reindeer. The reindeer sleds were similar to the Chukchi sled in construction. The light ones were arch-staved, with bent runners and a frame for sitting. The freight sleds were built in the same fashion, but more massively. Depending on the purpose of the freight-hauling sled, it was either surmounted by a hood (as in the sleds used for transporting children), or simply by a platform on poles (for carrying loads). There was also a special sled for carrying the frame of the dwelling, and so forth.

The light traveling sleds were usually harnessed to two reindeer; the freight-hauling sled was pulled by one reindeer. The reindeer were harnessed, not in front of the traveling sled, but on the left, so that the driver sitting in the sled could see everything ahead of him. When going downhill,

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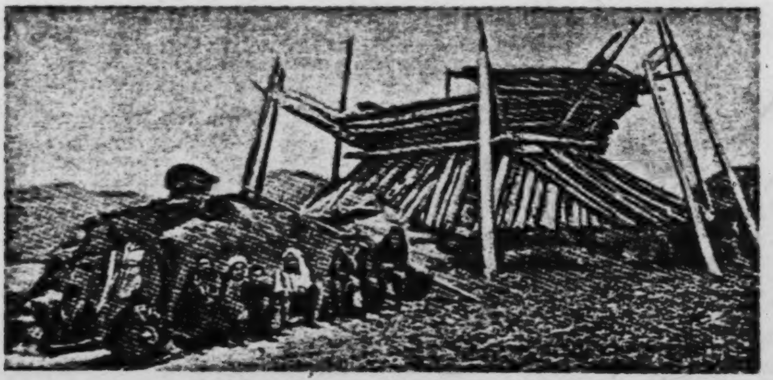
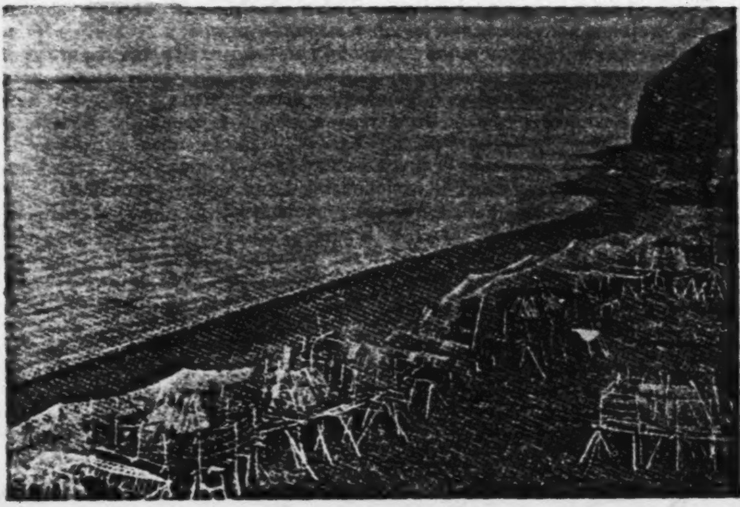


Dwelling of coastal Koryaks.



Summer village.

the reindeer remained slightly behind the driver on the left, restraining the 492
sled from slipping down too fast. The reindeer were managed with the help 493
of reins and a whip with bone tips.

The coastal Koryaks and the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy kept sled [184]
dogs. A full team usually consisted of 10 to 12 animals. For dog-travel, the Koryaks used the four-staved sled, common throughout Eastern Siberia. It was 2-2.5 m long, and 0.5 m wide. Its parts were fastened with leather strips and sharpened pegs inserted into holes, made especially to receive them. The dogs were harnessed tandem, in pairs. They were directed by voice, and braked with the aid of a staff (about one meter long) with an iron tip. The standard load per sled was 150-160 kg in addition to the weight of the driver (kayur).

The Koryaks learned horse-breeding from the Russians. Sedentary 231
Koryaks (Palantsy, Karagintsy and southern Alyutortsy) kept horses, but [492]
they were used only in summer, as pack animals. In winter, they were left [177] ●
to their own devices, foraging for green fodder and often perishing of starvation, blizzards, frosts and wolves. Often the horses became so wild that [184]
their owner found it easier to walk dozens of miles with heavy loads rather than try to capture the horse.

For water transportation, the Koryaks used skin boats (baydars and 501
kayaks). The Koryak baydar was similar to the Chukchi, but was considerably shorter and wider; its prow and stern were rounded. It was used [171]
by the Koryaks chiefly for hunting and fishing.

During the summertime, river transportation was by bat—boats hollowed out of thick tree trunks. They are extremely unstable in the water and require great skill of the helmsman, who steer with a long pole. Despite their untrustworthiness, these boats were also used by the Koryaks on the sea. In such cases, they were joined: two boats were linked with thick crossbars, leaving a space between them which was approximately equal to the width of one boat. Sometimes

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Light traveling sled and sled for transporting children.

501 boards were laid on top of the crossbars, and then the result resembled a raft.

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Clothing

237 The Koryak dress is most similar to that of the Chukchi. All Koryaks used the skins of young reindeer for both summer and winter clothing. Other skins (dogs, foxes, wolves and wolverines) were used only to trim the upper clothing, and to make hats and mittens.

The basic clothing of men consisted of an almost knee-length fur shirt without a lengthwise opening and with wide sleeves; this was worn with fur trousers and footwear. The shirt was made with a cowl and a small breastpiece, or without a cowl, but with a wide collar, edged with a seam. A cord was pulled through the seam, drawing the shirt together at the neck. The collar was usually trimmed with dog fur; black fur was considered the most beautiful.

Travel garb was cut in the same fashion, but longer. It consisted of two separate fur shirts, of which one was worn with the fur inside, and the other, with the fur outside. It was usually made with a cowl and a small breastpiece.

[84] [179] The clothing was usually worn directly on the body; the coastal Koryaks were the only ones to wear it frequently over fabric shirts, acquired from the local Russians.

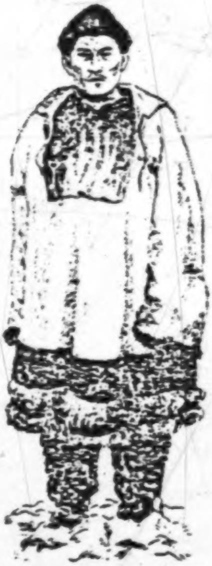
Trousers were sewn of reindeer skins. Footwear was made of suede.

Women's winter dress was a wide fur overall with sleeves. The trousers were tucked into the boots below the knee. Very often they were made of vertical strips of white and dark fur. Above the overall, the women usually wore a fur shirt. It was of the same cut as the men's shirts, but decorated with tassels and embroidery.

A characteristic feature of Koryak winter dress (men's and women's), which distinguished it from the Chukchi dress, was the patterned strip at the hem—the opuvan. This was usually made of reindeer fur, but of a different color from the rest of the garment; sometimes it was decorated with mosaic designs. [531]

17: Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

175 291 seldom that one could see trousers or footwear of sealskin. Eighteenth-century sources also state that "walking" Koryaks wore clothing of bird-skins. We know nothing of the shape of such dress. The ethnographic literature of the 19th century does not mention it.



Man's traveling costume.

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Koryak burial clothes (a fur shirt, trousers and boots) were quite distinct. They were made of the skins of white deer. The knee-length fur shirt ended in the back with an elongation (a "tail"). The burial clothes were richly adorned with tassels, fringes and pieces of dog fur. The hem of the shirt was decorated with a strip of geometric embroidery and an edging of wolverine fur.

Food

184 262 The basic diet of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks consisted of reindeer meat, usually boiled. Bone marrow, kidneys, gristle and leg tendons were also eaten raw. In winter, pounded and crushed frozen meat was eaten. The reindeer-breeders also obtained meat and fat of sea animals from coastal Koryaks by barter. Fish was used in small quantities—boiled in summer, and yukola in winter. The yukola was prepared in the summer or obtained from the coastal Koryaks.

The diet of the various sedentary groups depended on the character of their economic activities. The basic food was fish: boiled in summer, and in the form of yukola or fermented in winter. The upper part of the fish-head (brain, gristle, eyes) was eaten raw and considered a delicacy. Alyutortsy considered the heads of "sour" fish a great delicacy. Southern [177] Koryaks, who were most exposed to Russian influence, boiled fish with cereals, mainly with rice. The meat and fat of sea animals (seal and occasionally white whale) were the favorite food of the coastal Koryaks.

All Koryaks used plant food in large quantities. Lily-root, sedge, wild sorrel and willow-herb were used as seasonings with fish and meat. Crowberry and blueberry were used in making hash (tolkusha)—a dish of grated reindeer or seal meat and fat with an admixture of edible roots and berries. The thick porridge prepared in this manner was a favorite [273] food. Cloudberry and blueberry were eaten raw; the latter was also used in making an intoxicating drink.

262 Among imported products, the Koryaks used tea and sugar. The use 439 of flour, of which they made flatcakes, was very limited. Baked bread and zwieback were known only to the sedentary southern Koryaks, who came into close contact with Russians. Widely used was leaf tobacco, which 276 was smoked, but more often kept in the mouth, between the teeth and cheek. [175] All sources, from the very earliest, speak of the use of fly-agaric by the Koryaks as a stimulant.

Social Relations and Religious Beliefs

At the end of the 19th century, private ownership of the means of production predominated among the Koryaks. In the fields of production and distribution, however, there were numerous survivals of primitive-communal relations, especially among the coastal Koryaks.

the White Guards occupied only the largest populated centers, the Soviet government in effect continued to exist in the uyezds. Representatives of the Revolutionary Committee directed the struggle of the local population against the White troops. Thus, a Red guerrilla unit was organized from among the Russians and natives (Koryaks and Itel'mens) of the Tigil'skiy Rayon. In pursuing the Whites, retreating to the Okhotsk coast, this unit crossed the entire territory of the present Koryak (National) Okrug by dog team in wintertime. Together with the Red Army unit which had occupied the city of Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy by this time (1922), the Russian-Koryak guerrilla unit took part in mopping up the remnants of Bochkarev's gang near the village of Nayakhan. Individual Whites who managed to escape from Nayakhan and Gizhiga were finished off by the Red Army unit with the direct participation of Koryak reindeer-breeders in the area of Korfa Bay. 175 648

The winter of 1922-23 marked the final establishment of the Soviet government on Koryak territory. The short rule of the Whites had been attended by open looting of the population; the reindeer-breeding Koryaks of Taygonos Peninsula suffered most of all, since the White units confiscated their reindeer for transportation and food. The representative of the White government in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy granted Japanese capitalists the exclusive fishing rights within an area that included the present Koryak National Okrug. Japanese and American traders were also given the freedom to purchase furs from the natives.

During the early years of the Soviet regime (1923-1926), the uyezd, and later the rayon revolutionary committees had to do a great deal of work in order to overcome the grave effects of the civil war.

In 1930, after the First Congress of Soviets of Kamchatka, wide activity was launched in organizing local soviets, cooperatives and various socio-cultural institutions. Particular attention was given to the development of Soviet trade. New trading centers were established in a number of villages, where Koryaks were able to obtain essential provisions, hunting guns and ammunition. The establishment of fixed prices on furs and reindeer skins made it possible for the Koryaks to start improving their economic level. 175 439

A large role in raising the cultural level of the Koryak population was played by the cultural base opened on the Penzhina River in 1930 by the Committee to Assist the Peoples of the North. The establishment of an independent Koryak National Okrug (December 1930) stimulated the further successes of economic and cultural construction among the Koryaks.

Collectivization among the Koryaks, particularly among the nomadic reindeer-breeders, was conducted under conditions of class struggle. The wealthy Chavchuven reindeer-breeders destroyed large parts of their herds and did everything they could to interfere with the collective farms. 648 474 233

The remnants of primitive-communal relations which had masked exploitation at first impeded the unification of individual households into collective farms. The first forms of cooperative associations among the Koryaks were societies for the common herding of reindeer. Later, the principal form of association was the cooperative. 177 [471]

The development of collective farms entailed transition to sedentary life. The process of settling down was especially complex and difficult for the reindeer-breeders, both because of their traditionally nomadic existence, and because of the conditions of the reindeer-breeding industry itself; the change of pastures demanded frequent migrations. In the transition to sedentary life, this complex problem was solved as follows: pastures were assigned to individual collectives, and the tending and care of the herds were put in the hands of special brigades of herders, which accompanied the herds. The rest of the collective-farm

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474 members lived permanently in the villages, engaging in fishing and other
233 work.

177 The work and life of the herders has also been organized quite differently from what was the case in the past. Each herding brigade has a yaranga. The brigade usually consists of 4-5 herders, a brigadier, a timekeeper and a woman "tent worker," whose duties include preparation of hot meals, mending clothes, and keeping the tent clean.

There are also new elements in the technique of pasturing. Especial stress is laid today on cultivation of new pastures and planned utilization of the old. The collective herd is distributed among various pastures, and an exact itinerary and timetable are set for the herd's migrations. For the purpose of guarding the herd and preserving the young, as well as for the better organization of pasturing and saving of labor, the herders today use riding horses in summer, and reindeer dogs in winter—a method entirely unknown to the Koryaks in the past. Various new methods in the organization and technique of reindeer-breeding are combined with expanded veterinary services. Energetic struggle is waged with epizootics, measures are taken to improve the breed of the reindeer, and so forth.

[874] In 1947 an agricultural school for leading collective-farm personnel was opened in the village of Palana. This school trains specialists in reindeer-breeding—brigadiers, timekeepers, etc.

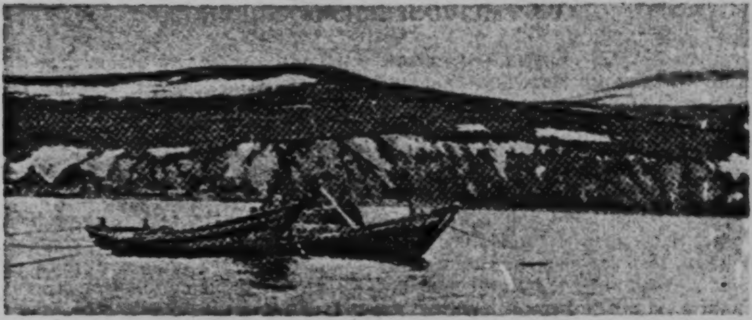
The collectives of the Koryak National Okrug own herds of many thousands of reindeer, and the productivity of the reindeer-breeding farms is rising. Thus, the Kirov collective (Tigil'skiy Rayon) increased its reindeer herd several times over during the postwar years. The incomes of the collectives in this branch of their economy have risen correspondingly.

177 In the coastal collectives, the principal occupation is fishing. The devel-
opment of fishing collectives is closely connected with the development of
648 the fishing industry in the Koryak National Okrug. During the Five-Year
474 Plans, a large, technically well-equipped socialist fishing industry of nation-
wide importance has been created in the Koryak National Okrug. The
226 establishment of industrial fishing has greatly affected the development and consolidation of fishing collectives.

The fishing cooperatives are served by the Motor-Fishing Stations (MRS), which have charge of motorized and motorless fleets. The MRS conduct activities to improve the fishermen's skills, teaching the Koryak collective-farm members new skills as brigadiers, motormen, etc. The chief fishing tools today, in place of the old primitive nets, are new and improved stationary, sweep and bag nets. The skin baydar has been entirely supplanted by motored and special motorless boats.

177 Along with the principal branches of activity, such as fishing and rein-
648 deer-breeding, the Koryak collectives are developing gardening and
livestock-raising. Attempts to expand agricultural activities were made
241 before the Revolution as well, but even among the sedentary Koryaks they
231 produced no substantial results. The poorly worked earth gave low yields, and the crops often were killed by early frosts. Besides, the Koryaks had very inadequate knowledge of tending gardens or the use of agricultural tools. Livestock-breeding fared no better; the maintenance of livestock on green fodder all year lowered the milk yield of the cows to a minimum.

Gardening and animal husbandry began to develop among the Koryaks after 1930. A large role in this was played by Russian workers and the local Soviet intelligentsia, who helped the collective livestock-breeders and gardeners both by personal example and by teaching them. Quite often, Russian women came to the collectives and demonstrated methods of planting and preparing vegetables; they also taught the Koryaks how to tend



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Catching salmon with stationary seines. Molotov collective, 177
Olyutorskiy Rayon, Kamchatskaya Oblast. 648

cattle. The most favorable conditions for the development of vegetable-gardening 241
exist in the Tigil'skiy Rayon. Today, some of the collectives of 231
this rayon not only produce enough vegetables to meet their own needs, but
also grow them for sale.

The income of the collectives from auxiliary enterprises, and principally 434
from fur-hunting, is also rising. 474

At present, there are several millionaire collectives in the Koryak National 648
Okrug. On the leading collective of the Tigil'skiy Rayon, the Kirov
collective, the capital fund reached the figure of 2,000,000 rubles in 1951.
This collective was organized in 1941 on the basis of an association for
the common pasturing of reindeer. The funds of other collectives are also
rising. In 1951, the capital funds of the "Path of the North" and the "Beacon
of the North" collectives of Penzhinskiy Rayon reached 1,500,000 rubles. 177

Simultaneously with the growth and consolidation of the collective 648
farms, there is improvement in the life of the Koryak collective-farm
members. The collective villages have become larger and more comfortable. 474
The old semidugout has almost disappeared. Today the collective-farm
members live in houses of the Russian type—spacious wooden houses with 361
glass windows. Many new villages have sprung up in the tundra as a result of [342]
the transition to sedentary life and the enlargement of collective farms.
These include Sedanka Kochevaya (Tigil'skiy Rayon), Krestovoye (Penzhinskiy
Rayon), the I. V. Stalin collective-farm village (Penzhinskiy Rayon), and
others. In the Karaginskiy Rayon, at a spot where there was only one dugout
in 1934, there is today a new rayon center—the large village of Ossora.

The modern Koryak village usually consists of several dozen dwellings
and farm buildings, as well as buildings housing cultural and other institutions.
Among the collective-farm buildings we must note the stables, which
are an innovation among the Koryaks. In all the villages there are bathhouses,
bakeries and stores. A great deal of attention is paid to the construction
of cultural institutions. In every village there is a school (often [368]
with a dormitory), a club or a reading room with a library, a medical or a
medical-assistant station, and a nursery. Many villages have been supplied [365]
with electricity and radio. [207]

The former dispersion of individual areas of Koryak habitation is
steadily being overcome. The means of local communication are being
improved. Motorized transport (cutters, etc.) is widely used in 000

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Preparation of seines. Korfa Motor-Fishing Station. 177
648

Motorized transport (cutters, etc.) is widely used in 493
summertime. In winter, dog and reindeer transportation are still im- 492
portant.

The general rise in the material well-being of the collective-farm 177
Koryaks has been reflected in increased consumption of bought food products 177
and other commodities. In the present Koryak diet important places are 648
held by such food products as flour, cereals, sugar and other commodities 291
bought in the local store. In recent years, bought urban-type clothing has 262
become increasingly widespread, but side by side with it the Koryaks retain
their national dress, especially their winter dress, which is well adapted to
the severe climate of the okrug.

Cultural construction, launched after the organization of the okrug, has 177
achieved marked results. Before the Revolution, the Koryaks were illit- 648
erate. In the two parochial schools which existed in the area in 1916 there 871
were only 13 Koryak children. Wide school construction began from the very first years of the Soviet regime. In 1925, schools were opened in a number of villages. The school in the village of Tilichiki was reorganized into a boarding school for children of the nomads.

Before World War II, there were 30 Koryak schools in the okrug; in 1951 there were already 97 primary, seven-year and secondary schools (27 of these were boarding schools).

The personnel for the national schools is trained in the pedagogic school 177
in the village of Tigil'. In the course of its existence, the school has trained 648
more than 100 teachers, including Koryaks. Young Koryak students receive 87
advanced teachers' training in Khabarovsk. A number of graduates of the Khabarovsk Pedagogical Institute work in the schools of the Koryak National Okrug. Among the students of the Department of the Peoples of the Far North at the Herzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad there are Koryak students who specialize in the languages, history and economics of the northern peoples.

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Before the Revolution, the Koryaks did not have any writing. They had some beginnings of pictographic writing, but it was used on a very limited scale. In 1932, the first Koryak primer was published, based on the Latin alphabet adopted at the time. Koryak literary language was established on the basis of the Chavchuven dialect. In 1937, a new Koryak alphabet was developed on the basis of Russian letters.

Textbooks for elementary schools are published in Koryak, as are political and literary works. The books published in Koryak include the works of Koryak writers. In addition to the okrug newspaper, Koryakskiy Kommunist, many rayon papers are published in the Koryak National Okrug. [214]

Cultural work among the Koryaks is conducted by the village clubs, reading huts, libraries and houses of culture. The specific conditions of Koryak life have demanded special forms of cultural activity (especially in connection with the herders' brigades). This has been accomplished by the mobile Red Yarangas. 177 648

Wide political and cultural-educational work is being conducted among the Koryak women. Special departments have been set up at the Rayon Committees of the Communist Party to direct this work, and every collective farm has its own women's soviet. With the aid of the active leadership, the women's soviets organize classes for the semiliterate, read newspapers, draw women into active social life. The sanitary and other committees of the women's soviets help working Koryak women to keep the dwellings clean and hygienic, organize various circles (sanitary circles, cutting and sewing circles, etc.), advise women on various questions of culture and daily life, and help in the rearing of children.

During the years of socialist construction, a wide network of various medical institutions has developed on the territory of the okrug. In 1952 there were 5 hospitals and 14 health centers in the Karaginskiy Rayon alone. [743]

Religious ideas and the rituals connected with them are receding into the past. Dances and games have lost all their ceremonial significance, and are now merely gay diversions and sports. The traditional reindeer and dog races are now the closing feature of all Soviet holidays.

The Party organization of the okrug includes in its ranks many Koryaks. Among them are propagandists, newspaper editors, and workers of the Rayon Committees of the CPSU.

Many Koryaks have acquired technical and other skills formerly unknown among them, and have become motormen, radio operators, accountants, bookkeepers, zootechnicians, and workers in public health and education.

Most of the deputies of local soviets, people's judges and assessors are members of the local nationalities. The Koryaks have their elected representatives in the Kamchatskaya Oblast Soviet of Workers' Deputies and in the supreme government organ—the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--284 [2] N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 177, 361

"We anchored in Karaga harbour at noon, and could make out with our glasses some balagans, and traces of a village of some sort on shore. It was not long before a boat left the ship to reconnoitre, and on the beach was met by several of the natives. These turned out to be very friendly, and, what was equally important, could speak Russian, so that we were able to communicate with them. Later in the evening, several parties left the ship in search of sport, natural history specimens, and objects for the camera."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--288-289 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak-1-2
116, 177, 291, 302

"Our photographs will show the dress and appearance of the natives [of Karaga--Analyst] better than would a long description. They were for the most part clad, like other northern races, in robes of reindeer-skin, the furred part being worn inside, and with a square piece turned downwards in front of the neck, and sometimes ornamented with patterns made from different kinds of skins, the whole reaching not lower than the knees. Most of these robes were provided with hoods, but several of the natives wore old peaked Russian caps, which they had no doubt obtained from the crew of some seal or whale hunting schooner. Their hair was cut short, as in civilized races, and some of them wore only a moustache. Others, like the old man in the photograph on p. 291, allowed the beard to grow. He had also bound a white handkerchief round his head—no doubt to keep off mosquitoes, for which purpose also skin gloves, even if not worn, were carried.

In person and appearance these natives were generally well built and of average height; and the old man on the left of photograph (p. 291) must have been a very fine specimen when young. The man on the right of the same photograph was the chief of the village, and wore a European coat, as did also the man in the middle of the same group, on the occasion of an important visit to the ship. This garment had been a very smart tailed coat in its time, and retained even in its old age a trace of its original smartness; but it fitted its present owner so poorly, that it is to be hoped he will stick closer to the

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--288-289 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak-2
116, 177, 291, 302

much more graceful robe of reindeer-skin.

These natives wore skin nether garments of boots and breeches made in one piece, which enable them to traverse the marshes without the discomfort of getting wet, and must keep them very warm in the winter months. The breeches were tightened at the ankle by being tied with either a piece of string or hide. The women and children were variously [289] clad. Generally the former wore a short skin robe and a man's breeches, as well as a belt with a knife attached to it; their heads were, however, protected by a handkerchief, instead of a hood like the men. Their hair was allowed to grow long, and some of them wore loose linen or cotton garments, sometimes tied at the waist with a belt. Some of these garments were very gaudy, and must have been obtained by trade or exchange."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--289 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 157, 177, 576

"One of the main characteristics of these natives, [in Karaga--Analyst] as also of those of the island, was their unfailing politeness. They bowed and took off their caps with a grace and ease which seemed to come as naturally to them as to the most cultured members of civilized races, and the shake of the hands and the Russian salutation, 'Zdrastee,' seemed no more out of place among them than it would in the streets of St. Petersburg.

They were not, however, as simple either in their manners or in their dress as the inhabitants of Karaginski island, whom they also excelled in being able to speak Russian fairly well, whereas the latter were only acquainted with a few words of the language, and that only in the case of a very few individuals."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--289-290 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 164, 177, 273, 609

"In both cases a request to be allowed to take photographs was readily complied with and permission granted to enter the dwellings. One old lady at Karaga, although quite blind, (1) left her balagan at our request, [290] descended the rickety pole-ladder which led to it, and posed herself for a picture. In both cases European stores of various kinds were preferred to money, and in the case of the islanders money was refused. Lastly, the people of the two villages [Karaga and a village on Karaginski Island--Analyst] were similar in their desire for strong drink, the word 'rhum' being a part of their somewhat limited European vocabulary."

1. The only other ailments noticed were lameness in the case of one young man at Karaginski, and a bad cough in the case of the old man at Karaga.

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--293-294 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak

116, 133, 177

"In the harbour [at False Bay on Karaginski Island--Analyst] we were easily able to make out a few scattered balagans—not gathered together to form a village as at Karaga—as well as, what was quite unexpected, a rectangular log-built building, looking just like the store of some company. The meaning of this was afterwards explained to us by the natives, who informed us that some twenty or thirty years ago an American schooner had landed a party of men here, and that they had built the store to hold the skins and ivory which [294] they took while on the island. According to the account of the natives, they quite 'cleared the place out' of walrus, which explains the fact that we saw only two. The natives, however, had a few tusks for sale."

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--294 [2] N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak

116, 136, 177, 291

"In dress they [the natives of Karaginski Island--Analyst] were far more primitive and simple than the Karaga people, and, with the exception of one or two very ancient peaked caps and handkerchiefs, did not possess any European clothing. With the foregoing exceptions, all wore roughly made skin caps of no particular shape, and constructed so as to cover the back of the neck. This, together with the fact that all carried gloves made of skin and slung on to their skin robe, or—with the knife and fire-bag—on to the belt, gave us an early intimation of the numbers of mosquitoes to be expected. Nor were we disappointed. Even the natives here, while speaking to us, were constantly brushing the mosquitoes off their hands and faces."

22: Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--296 N-2 (1897, 1898 Koryak
116, 177, 522

"Only a few of these natives [Karaginski Island--Analyst] speak Russian, (1) and this they pronounce so badly that even our native hunter from Petropavlovsk could hardly understand them, so that our conversation was of a somewhat strange character. They, however, made up for their poverty of language by breaking into peals of the most hearty and unaffected laughter. The effect was catching, and soon we ourselves, as well as the Russian hunter, joined in, every simple sentence or question being terminated by a burst of laughter."

1. We noticed that, while conversing among themselves, a few simple Russian words seemed to be used by the natives, sandwiched between the words of their own language.

22:Barrett-Hamilton and Jones--297 N-2 (1897) 1898 Koryak
116, 177, 281, 415

"They [the natives of Karaginski Island--Analyst] keep their more precious or breakable household goods in bags, beautifully constructed either of the skin of the common hair seal (Phoca largha) or of the rare ribbon seal (Phoca equestris). One of the bags made of the latter skin we secured, and we were told that the species occurs on the Pacific coast of the island. In one of these bags we found a rough wooden box containing some writings in Russian, which we were unable to read, but which may have been left by the crew of the schooner by whom the log hut was built. [see p. 293--Analyst]."

Koryak RY4
Kamchadal RY3
Chukchee RY2

C /242 cont./

582 The Chukchee marriage norms probably were the same
171 as among the other nationalities of the same linguistic
835 group as the Chukchee, namely, the Kamchadal and the
K Koryak. Concerning the Kamchadal, we have the testimony
582 of Krasheninnikov in *Opisanie zemli Kamchatki* /A Description
835 of Kamchatka/ (II, 169) that marriages were concluded,
unhindered, between male and female cousins. As to the
KK Koryak, their norms were evidently /243/ under the strong
582 influence of the Tungus peoples. Thus, while marriage to
835 a niece was regarded as incestuous among the Chukchee, it
C [835] was permitted among the Koryak. As among the Tungus,
marriage simultaneously to two sisters is not allowed among
KK them. But the basic feature of Turanian marriage -- the obligation
587 of marriage within one and the same clan -- has been
perpetuated in the Koryak marriage in the institution of the
KK sororate, or, as it is called by Iokhel'son, the double levirate.
[171] As is well-known, the peculiarity of this institution, widespread
[614] even on the continent of North America (Algonkin,
Thompson, Skidi, Pawnee), is expressed in the obligation of
● [177] the widower to marry a woman from the clan of his deceased
wife -- namely, a younger sister, cousin, or niece of the
deceased (the last category -- nieces -- has evidently been
adopted from the Tungus). Iokhel'son explains the origin of
this institution by the desire to maintain religious ties that
have been established between the spouses and by an unwillingness
to admit an alien element to the sacred family
hearth. Such an explanation could be very easily admitted,
but then it is not understandable how the first, dead wife was
admitted to the sacred hearth, especially since the Koryak
have no knowledge of any kind of religious rituals like the
KK above-mentioned Chukchee ritual of administering the
587 sacrament to the wife. On the other hand, this is explained
835 much more simply by the institution of obligatory marriage.
With the obligatory cousin-marriage, sisters and female
cousins of one family belonged to the brothers and male
cousins of another, and naturally, when the wife of a man

Kamchadal RY3
Koryak RY4

/334 cont./

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4. (cont.)
knew nothing of the Kamchadal. One can explain such a misunderstanding of Steller's remarks as happened to Gerland in part by Steller's antiquated style and in part by the frequently (and even at the place concerned, p. 8) exceeding faulty and incorrect punctuation in this publication of his work. As I have already pointed out at another place (Reis. u. Forsch. im Amur-Lande, Vol. II, p. 762, note 3), Pallas said of it that it "was printed from a rough draft and in the hands of the publisher (J.B.S.) became loaded with the most inexcusable copying and printing errors revealing a great ignorance (Neue Nord. Beytr., Vol. II, p. 255). One will be convinced of the accuracy of this opinion by Pallas on every page while reading Steller's work. For this reason I believe that the apparent difference in these two Koryak terms for the Kamchadal can be traced to merely a printing error. Steller also says that the sedentary Koryak along the Sea of Okhotsk are called "Nümala akalila," i.e., sitting, resting, by their countrymen who roam with reindeer. Could it be, however, that this "Nümala," like "Namalau," is also a reference to their subterranean dwellings?

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Some, the sedentary ones, of the Koryak, also a Paleo-Asiatic people, retained the earth yurt to this day, insofar as they have not already adopted Russian customs and hence also Russian dwellings, for example, according to Ditmar (5). /335/in particular

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[113]

5. "Ueber die Koräken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen /On the Koryak and the Chukchee Very Closely Related to Them/" (Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. XIII, pp. 104, 107, 109; Mél. russes, Vol. III, pp. 8, 12, 16).

/335 cont./

342 [178] [177] the Kamenzen and Parenzen settled around Penshin Bay, as well as the northernmost Pallanzen (in Pusstorezk and Podkagernaja), and the majority of the Olutorzen on the northeast coast of Kamchatka. According to Ditmar, the Koryak earth-yurt is very simple in nature: a pit approximately 2-3 fathoms square, lined and roofed over with wooden logs, and, like the Kamchadal yurt of old, it is entered through the smoke hole (1). According to Maydell, the Koryak earth-yurt also has a side entrance, which leads down into the interior through a narrow, slightly sloping channel, but this is used only once a year, namely, when the owner moves into his yurt in the fall, he first crawls in through this passageway, but then closes it immediately with sealskin stretched over a frame, and the rest of the time only the smoke hole may be used for entering or leaving (2). The nomadic

[174] Koryak, of course, have no earth yurts. Could it be, however, that their ancestors did have such earth yurts? It is generally

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[113] 1. Krascheninnikof ("Opis. zemli Kamchatki." -- Poln. sobr. putesh. i pr., Vol. II, p. 195), Müller ("Geogr. und Verfass. von Kamtschatka /Geography and Condition of Kamchatka/," in the appendix to Steller's Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtsch., p. 24), Ditmar (op. cit.), Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes; a journ. of Siber. travels and explor. made in the years 1865-1867, London, 1871, p. 352), Kennan (Tent life in Siberia and Adventures among the Koraks and oth. tribes in Kamtschatka and North Asia, London, 1871, pp. 153, 178), and others. The latter in particular describes entering or leaving through the smoke hole in the Koryak yurt and all the inconveniences connected with it in a most drastic way.

2. According to an oral communication from G. v. Maydell.

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Eskimo ND2
Circumpolar Culture R3
Koryak RY4 ●
Chukchee RY2

E /489 cont./
231 part of the continent, from the Bering Sea to Greenland, which
171 explains the fact, so surprising at first glance, that in America
174 there are no peoples at all devoting themselves to keeping tame
reindeer, as in the Old World, in spite of the fact that the physical conditions for it are not lacking there, and the reindeer in
the wild state occur there frequently and commonly enough and
C are hunted by the Eskimo for food and clothing. America re-
174 ceived all of its population in the reindeer zone from an Asian
231 group of peoples who did not yet know the domesticated reindeer
171 and had only the dog as a domestic animal, and, to be sure, for
the purpose of harnessing it, and thus necessarily kept in great numbers and in a stage of domestication in which the nobler qualities of personal attachment, faithfulness, and vigilance were still missing in it, and, on the other hand, its predatory nature appeared on every occasion. This latter circumstance in itself makes inconceivable a separate domestication of another animal defenseless against the dog, like the reindeer, by such peoples (1).

(1). Middendorff (Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1302) remarks that in those places of Siberia where the harness dogs prevail, neither sheep nor poultry can gain a foothold, and even calves are threatened by constant danger. In Kamchatka, not only poultry, but pigs and cows, too, were attacked by dogs, which gave rise to the removal of the latter for the summer from Peter-Paul Harbor, as is done today, and keeping them at another place.

And, furthermore, why should a fishing people, such as the Eskimo and all the Paleo-Asiatics, think of domesticating an animal for which they have no food, and on this account they would be ob-
Ch K liged to give up their permanent habitation sites and change their
174 entire way of life? The ancestors of the nomadic Chukchee and
231 Koryak certainly did not domesticate the reindeer themselves,
●171 but obtained it already domesticated from a nomadic tribe wandering toward them -- as was mentioned above, presumably from the Tungus.

177.10 - 177.88

11: Kennan--203-204 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak-1-2
116, 276, 437, 177.27 Reindeer
636.27 Russia

"There is a peculiar fungus of this class in Siberia, known to the natives as 'muk-a-moor,' and as it possesses active intoxicating properties, it is used as a stimulant by nearly all the Siberian tribes. Taken in large quantities it is a violent narcotic poison; but in small doses it produces all the effects of alcoholic liquor. Its habitual use, however, completely shatters the nervous system, and its sale by Russian traders to the natives has consequently been made a penal offence by Russian law. In spite of all prohibitions, the trade is still secretly carried on, and I have seen twenty dollars worth of furs bought with a single fungus. The Koraks would gather it for themselves, but it requires the shelter of timber for its growth, and is not to be found on the barren steppes over which they wander; so that they are obliged for the most part to buy it, at enormous prices, from the Russian traders. It may sound strangely to American ears, but the invitation which a convivial Korak [204] extends to his passing friend is not, 'Come in and have a drink,' but, 'Won't you come in and take a toadstool?' Not a very alluring proposal perhaps to a civilized toper, but one which has a magical effect upon a dissipated Korak. As the supply of these toadstools is by no means equal to the demand, Korak ingenuity has been greatly exercised in the endeavor to economize the precious stimulant, and make it go as far as possible. Sometimes, in the course of human events, it becomes imperatively necessary that a whole band shall get drunk together, and they have only one toadstool to do it with. For a description of the manner in which this band

11: Kennan--203-204　　T-3　　(1865) 1870　　Koryak-2
116, 276, 437, 177. 27　　Reindeer
636. 27　　Russia

gets drunk collectively and individually upon one fungus, and keeps drunk for a week, the curious reader is referred to Goldsmith's 'Citizen of the World,' Letter 32. It is but just to say, however, that this horrible practice is almost entirely confined to the settled Koraks of Penzhinsk Gulf--the lowest, most degraded portion of the whole tribe. It may prevail to a limited extent among the wandering natives, but I never heard of more than one such instance outside of the Penzhinsk Gulf settlements."

11: Kennan--54 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 651, 177: 65 Russia
636.65

"The government under which all the inhabitants of Kamtchatka nominally live is administered by a Russian officer called an 'Ispravnik' or local governor, who is supposed to settle all questions of law which may arise between individuals or tribes, and to collect the annual 'yassák' or tax of furs, which is levied upon every male inhabitant in his province. He resides in Petropavlovski, and owing to the extent of country over which he has jurisdiction and the imperfect facilities which it affords for getting about, he is seldom seen outside of the village where he has his head-quarters."